

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1922

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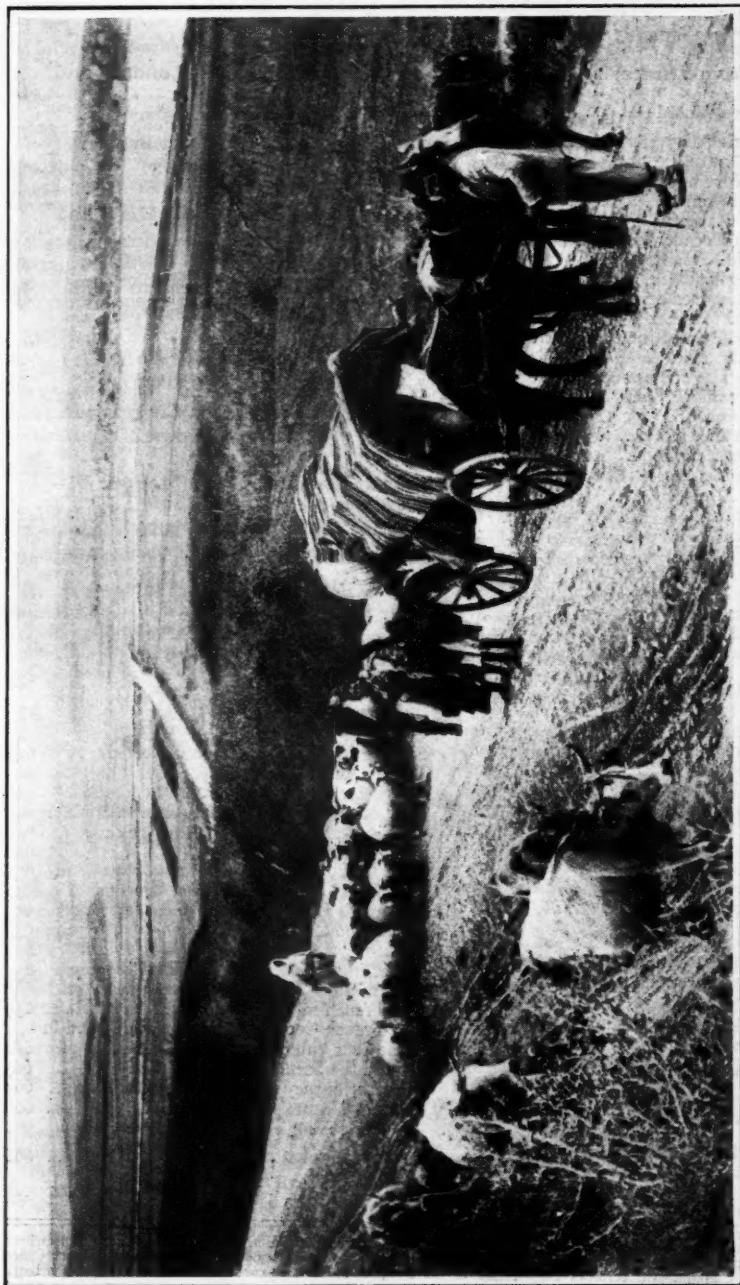
With portraits

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**A GREEK FARMER'S FAMILY OF THRACE (EUROPEAN TURKEY) ESCAPING FROM THE RETURNING
TURKISH TROOPS**

(Reports from eye-witnesses are unanimous in telling us that the flight of the old Greek population of Thrace last month to escape the ravages of Moslem soldiers was so pathetic and sensational as to stagger the imagination. In similar fashion, the Christian populations of Asia Minor have been rushing from interior points to seaports, where shipping has been wholly inadequate for transporting them to Mediterranean islands or to safe places in Europe. American relief measures are already affording appreciable aid, and before Christmas comes the volume of American assistance will have reached great proportions. This emergency stimulated the nation-wide Red Cross drive last month)

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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1922

No. 6

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

The Christmas Spirit Survives: Opinions differ as to the nature and extent of recent drifts away from former customs and standards. Doubtless our social habits are affected by new conditions; while altered points of view are reflected in the manners and the conduct of average people in Europe and America. But perhaps in essential things the changes are not as great as many have thought. The principal differences are those that go with the almost universal reading of newspapers, and the improvement in ordinary modes of living, due to inventions and economic progress. The recurrence of December this year has the same potency to awaken what we call the "Christmas spirit" that it had in any previous period. Sentiment, after all, does not change so easily. Childhood has become our foremost interest; and child welfare is the one common cause in the support of which the public is almost unanimous. Many things have been happening that seem to have more than transient significance for purposes of history, but perhaps nothing else in our recent experience will

have been fraught with such important consequences for the country's future as the recent rapid diminution in the rate of infant mortality.

Childhood as the Central Interest

It will not be denied that there is a greatly improved average condition—physical, mental, and moral—that gives the rising generation in America an advantage when compared with any ancestral one. With so much current discussion of "isms" of one kind or another, political or religious or economic, it is quite too easy to overlook simple and typical facts. Yet it is probably true that so every-day an affair as the increasing supply and distribution of good milk in our towns and cities, and the larger use of such milk as the most essential article of diet for small children, can do more for Americans of the next generation than almost any other of the reforms that engage so much earnest attention. The happiness and the true welfare of children, more than anything else, connotes the Christmas spirit. No one can deny that we are advancing in these things.



A COMPANY OF FUTURE CITIZENS—NEW YORK SCHOOL BOYS

*A Fairly
Normal
November*

There will always be enough to worry about, but Thanksgiving Day of this year discovers not less but rather more than usual in the conditions of American life to awaken gratitude, to justify the contentment that accompanies hopeful effort, and to assure a December of good cheer. November in the United States has been a month of remarkable activity. Unemployment has not only been reduced, but in many directions there has been a decided shortage of labor. The threatened coal famine has been averted, and the railroads have been trying to make up for lost time. The farmers have only partly recovered from the calamities that our bad war-time policies and our methods of post-war deflation so unfortunately produced. But while they seek remedies they continue to feed the nation, and they do not lose courage. The American temper was sufficiently free from desperate strain to show an unprecedented interest during November in football games, radio developments, moving pictures, murder mysteries, beauty contests, and the never-flagging argument between the "wets" and the "drys." Bad as are the too much condoned offenses of bootleggers, smugglers, and moonshiners, the American people as a whole are pro-

foundly thankful to have the saloon nuisance abolished, and the total consumption of intoxicating drinks diminished by perhaps four-fifths. A sober America is not depressed.

*The Great
Game of
Politics*

"Politics" is, of course, many other things besides being a game; but it has always been for a considerable proportion of American citizens an exciting sport, like horse-racing and professional baseball. The sporting temper demands that the game be played fairly: that is to say, that party feeling shall not be too bitter, that personalities shall not be too scandalous and unrestrained, that the vote shall be honestly cast and counted, and that the results shall be accepted handsomely, losers never forgetting that political pendulums swing both ways. This election of November 7, 1922, will be seen, when the smoke all clears away, to have been upon the whole an average American election, with good temper pretty well maintained, and with the political fundamentals unshaken. Comparing our election season with current or recent political upheavals in many other countries, the chief thing to be noted is the remarkable evidence afforded of steadfast adherence in America to constitutional landmarks, and the persistence of our major parties. The so-called "Revolution" is a figment of fancy.



HOW THE AMERICAN ELECTION GAME LOOKED TO A CANADIAN NEIGHBOR ON THE DAY AFTER

From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

*American
Political
Stability*

There was no definite issue before the country in the elections of November 7, and there are no general conclusions as regards public policy that are to be derived from a study of the results. Party shifts and changes following the greatest of wars have been less violent than might have been expected. The war had been won by national effort on a stupendous scale. An attempt in 1918 to make Democratic capital out of it—as the Congressional elections were held within a week of the Armistice date—resulted in a moderate Republican success. The confidential letters of Franklin K. Lane, just now published in a volume of remarkable interest, show that this broad-minded member of the Wilson Cabinet was wholly out of sympathy with a partisan appeal that was singularly ill-timed. There ensued a period of two years during which incalculable harm came to the country by reason of a stubborn deadlock between the Wilson Administration and the Republican Congress. The points of difference were not



IN 1920 THE PENDULUM SWINGS AGAINST THE DEMOCRATS



IN 1922 THE PENDULUM SWINGS BACK ON THE REPUBLICANS

From the Tribune © (Chicago, Ill.)

very important, and if there had been finer intelligence, more common sense, less egotism, and less partisanship at Washington, public business would have proceeded in an orderly way.

Party Changes of a Decade

To understand this year's election, one must not lose sight of the party history of a ten-year period. Our political stability is again illustrated in the results. Mr. Wilson's victory in 1912 had been due solely to a Republican split. Thus the Roosevelt popular vote in that year equaled two-thirds of the Wilson vote, while the Taft popular vote was about 70 per cent. greater than the remaining one-third of the Wilson vote. For all presidential candidates, there were about 15,000,000 votes cast in 1912, of which Mr. Wilson received only 6,286,000. Thus the educator who had been elected Governor of New Jersey in consequence of a Republican split in that State, and whose presidential nomination had also resulted from a factional fight among Democratic leaders in the Baltimore convention, owed his triumph at the polls just ten years ago to the Republican dissensions. The persistence of the Progressive Republican revolt gave the Democrats a further opportunity in the Congressional elections of 1914. To their credit it should be said that this success was aided by the promptness with which the Underwood Tariff had been enacted in 1913, by the fortunate passage of the Federal Reserve act, and by other marks of efficiency.

A Review of Election Statistics

Democratic victory was also favored in 1914 by the instinctive disposition of the country to support our executive authorities

in the new and difficult problems of all kinds that were already emerging on account of the outbreak of the Great War in Europe. In any case, President Wilson was secure in his tenure until March 4, 1917, and he was fortunate enough to obtain the co-operation of a Democratic Congress. In the Presidential election of 1916, the major accidents again made Mr. Wilson their beneficiary. The Republican Progressives were not quite reconciled, but they had followed Colonel Roosevelt's advice and accepted the Hughes-Fairbanks ticket. When the early reports came in, Mr. Wilson admitted his defeat and the election of Mr. Hughes was proclaimed. But everything turned upon what was at first declared to be a Hughes victory in California, a Republican State of the Progressive brand. Roosevelt had carried that State by a plurality over Wilson in 1912, with the Taft vote so small as to be practically non-existent. A Republican blunder in the 1916 campaign seemed to identify Hughes with the unpopular "stand-pat" faction; and he lost California to Wilson by a fluke, although he was on the same ticket with Hiram Johnson (running for the Senate), whose vote showed a Republican plurality of more than 300,000. It was this difference between the Johnson and the Hughes Republican strength in California that accounted for Wilson's majority of twenty-three votes in the electoral college, and his plurality in the aggregate popular vote. To state it in a different way, if Hughes had received the full Hiram Johnson vote in California, he would have had a plurality over Mr. Wilson of the aggregate popular vote, besides a safe majority in the electoral college. To assume, therefore, that 1916 gave Mr. Wilson a strong vote of confidence is to forget what occurred.

**Democrats
Fighting
Uphill**

These election facts are recalled solely in the interest of an accurate perspective. Ever since the election of McKinley in 1896, the Democrats have had to fight their way against odds. The Republicans, when at their best, are a tolerably coherent political party. When not at their best, they are likely to quarrel openly, through the divergence between the natural progressive instincts of the rank-and-file and the "stand-patism" of the party machine. The inherent difficulties of the Democratic party lie in the fact that it is negative rather than positive, being for national purposes a coalition of groups rather than a homogeneous mass. Four distinct Democratic groups have been, each for its own reasons, opposed to the Republicans. The largest group is always the so-called Solid South. The most strategic—and at times the most decisive—of these factors is Tammany Hall, because in national affairs the State of New York is usually so important as to be pivotal. The other two groups, representing tendencies rather than precisely fixed forces, have been the radical Democrats of the West, with Mr. Bryan as the most prominent leader, and the conservative Democrats of the East, best typified by the word "Clevelandism" and to-day remaining a strong influence although without any dominant leader. For a time, "Wilsonism," as it was termed, seemed in a fair

way to merge all these Democratic elements into a positive party, of national character and of highly progressive tendencies. It was the ambition of Mr. Wilson and many of his ablest supporters to outdo the Republicans in the field of sane reform, and in the adoption of progressive policies. They aimed to have it appear that the party of Lincoln and Roosevelt had hardened into a sort of Toryism, while the party of Tilden, Cleveland, and Bryan had evolved under Wilson's leadership into a force for national liberalism and world reconstruction. They thought a new gospel of democracy had been revealed, with its true prophets all inside of their own party camp.

**Weakness
of the New
Democracy**

Unfortunately, the new gospel seemed too vacillating and uncertain when it had to be translated into terms of action. For example, it resulted in proceedings of bewildering and inconsistent variety, when attempts were made to apply it for settlement of the Mexican troubles. It adopted the dangerous fallacy that the best way for us to protect ourselves, and to set a good example to nations engaged in the supreme struggle of all the ages, was to avoid the appearance of seeming to prepare for self-defense. It pursued its policy of neutrality with scolding arguments that offended the belligerent groups, but with halting action that sacrificed neutral rights. When we became involved in the war, the patriotism of the nation rallied overwhelmingly and party lines disappeared. The attempt to coin a party success out of the war sacrifices of the country as a whole produced the opposite result. A leadership that could not apply its well-phrased principles in lesser matters was not likely to succeed on the world plane by transferring its operations from Washington to Paris. American resources had done much to win the war, but American idealism suffered a sore defeat in its endeavor to win the peace.



**VICTORY FINDS SOME DIFFICULTY IN AWARD-
ING THE WREATH**

From the *Star* (Kansas City, Mo.)

**"Reversion to
Type" in
1920**

Thus, when the Democratic coalition assembled at San Francisco in the summer of 1920, the inspiration of Wilsonian leadership which had promised to fuse the old-time elements of the party into a coherent progressive force, had mostly evaporated. The ranks of the crusaders were depleted, and the backsliders returned to their ac-

customed group associations. Tammany was so emboldened that it produced a presidential candidate from its own midst in the person of "Al" Smith, who had been elected Governor in 1918, having defeated Governor Whitman. A consistent adherence to the newer Democratic ideals would have given the nomination to McAdoo, who was more practical than Wilson, while resembling him in the fact that he stood above sections and factions. Governor Cox of Ohio was nominated in a convention that revealed, with some differences, the old-time Democratic cleavages. The Democracy did not come back from its visit to the Pacific Coast with the air of a party that was equal to the business in hand. Idealism, whether of the Wilson brand or of the Bryan brand, had been rejected, and "low-brow" politicians were more comfortable.

Republicans on "Safe and Sane" Ground When the Republicans went to Chicago, General Wood's strength proved to be his weakness. Governor Lowden was the victim of some preliminary campaign mistakes. Hiram Johnson's undoubted personal strength had not behind it enough delegates, and Johnson was too positive a character to be a compromise choice. When Lowden failed, Harding became the one candidate who could best unify the convention and the party. The country was not in the mood for a President who should conceive of his functions in terms of world leadership. The Lane letters and other contemporary documents show how little Dr. Wilson had ever been disposed to share responsibility with members of his Cabinet. Senator Harding had an entirely different conception of the office of President, and the country was ready for a thoroughgoing change. With Mr. Wilson's protracted illness, the Republican Congress had loomed up as the more energetic branch of Government, and the Democratic Administration had lapsed to a negative place, so that in the long and painful deadlock between Congress and the White House the Republicans had thrown the Democrats upon the defensive.

The Sweeping Verdict Two Years Ago The results of the election of 1920 were more decisive than those of any quadrennial election since the early days of the Republic. Harding's popular vote was 16,152,200.



© Paul Thompson

GOVERNOR-ELECT ALFRED E. SMITH OF NEW YORK

("Al" Smith is undoubtedly the most outstanding Democratic personality of this year's election season. He was born in New York City in 1873, worked with his father as a truck-driver, obtained a clerkship in a municipal office at twenty-two, served in the Legislature for twelve years until 1915, was then Sheriff of New York County for two years, President of the Board of Aldermen for two years, and elected Governor in 1918. In 1920 he figured as a presidential aspirant, and was defeated in his run for a second term as Governor. He has now been elected by a plurality of 400,000. He is representative of the anti-Wilsonian tendency in Democratic politics)

That of Cox was 9,147,353. The mere numbers were swelled by the new votes of women; but the percentage of the total vote received by the victor was far greater in 1920 than in any previous presidential election since the Republican party took the field in 1856 with Fremont running against Buchanan. This presidential success carried with it an almost unprecedented party majority in the House of Representatives. In the existing House of 435 members, as several vacancies have now been filled, there are 302 Republicans, 132 Democrats, and one Socialist. This gives the Republicans a majority of 170 (70 per cent. of the entire body), a party predominance much too large for efficiency under our two-party system. The Senate changes more slowly; but the Republicans, with sixty Senators as against thirty-six Democrats out of a total of ninety-six, have almost

two-thirds—a situation that lends itself to blocs and groups rather than to strict party responsibility.

*The Next
Congress also
Republican*

In the act making reapportionment under the census of 1920, the total number of seats remains at 435, although the States which had gained most in population have acquired increased membership at the expense of other States. Of the 435 members elected on November 7 to the Sixty-eighth Congress, the reports indicate 226 Republicans, 206 Democrats, one Socialist, one Independent, and one Farmer-Laborist. The Republicans will have members enough to organize and control the new House. It appears, also, that the Senate after the 4th of March will have fifty-two Republicans, forty-three Democrats, and one Farmer-Laborist. The existing Congress, which was called by President Harding to reassemble on November 20, will be busily at work with its great Republican majorities in both houses until the 4th of March. It will not be disposed to leave public business in so unfinished a condition that President Harding will have to call an extra session in April or May. If it concentrates upon a reasonable program, and escapes the pitfall of Senate filibusters, it can retire at the end of its term with the welcome assurance that for nine months Congress will not be in session. It will not be until a year hence, the first Monday in December, 1923, that the newly elected Sixty-eighth Congress, with its scanty but sufficient margin of Republican supremacy, will take up its work. Many things may have happened by that time, and the country's mood may have changed quite perceptibly.

*The "Ins" Met
the Shock
Fairly Well*

Although the press was at first inclined to make it appear that the election figures indicated something like a political revolution, we are quite sure that thoughtful observers will regard the reaction as normal rather than as exceptional. It is not in 1922, but rather it was in 1920, that the swing of the pendulum was extreme. Under all the circumstances, both parties may regard themselves as having done fairly well. There may be some differences of opinion between the Harding Administration and the next Congress, but the Republican party will be in authority all along the line until March 4, 1925. It was known that

the adoption of the new tariff so soon before the Congressional elections would in a general way help the Democrats rather than the Republicans. The hostility of labor leaders was expected to have some effect. It was known that President Harding's veto of the Bonus bill would provoke political retaliation. But the elections do not by any means prove that the Harding Administration has hopelessly lost its prestige. Obviously, the "wets" expect more from Democracy than from Republicanism, although the Eighteenth Amendment was launched under Democratic auspices. The enfranchisement of women, which so greatly increases the total electorate, has not yet affected the general party balance, although its influence begins to be felt in local affairs to a marked extent. Undoubtedly, State and local issues are recognized as making an increasingly strong appeal as the functions of government become more extended socially.

*Public Men
Come
and Go*

Every election in a great country like ours of necessity retires some well-known men to private life, and brings some new men into public place. In England, all the prominent parliamentary leaders continue to be politically active, and most of them find seats in Parliament, no matter how greatly the party majorities may shift and change. This is due to a system of rep-



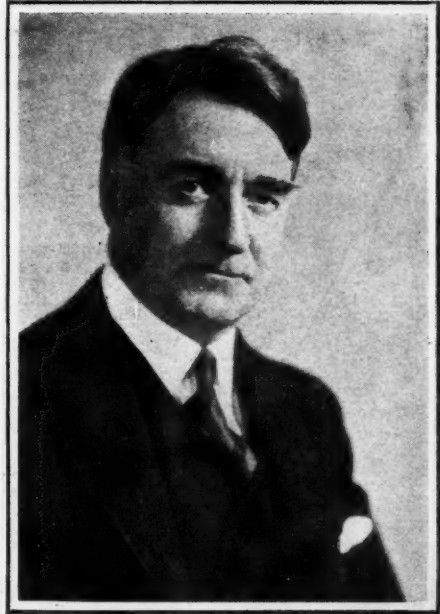
DIAGNOSING THE AILMENT OF THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT

From the Times (New York)

resentation that is wholly different from ours. Thus if a conspicuous leader is defeated in one constituency an opportunity is soon found for him to be elected somewhere else. An American public man of experience, though out of office, may if he chooses continue to exercise great influence. Thus a man like Mr. Elihu Root is a political leader of weight, and is called upon for many kinds of public service, though not in the Cabinet or the Senate. The retiring Governor of New York, Hon. Nathan L. Miller, is now a public man of nation-wide distinction, and his real prestige has not been seriously damaged by the vote in the towns and cities, and especially among naturalized foreigners, which gave ex-Governor Al Smith a plurality of four hundred thousand. Governor Miller was little known to the larger public when he defeated Governor Smith in 1920. He has been one of the most efficient and successful Governors in the history of New York, and he must rank henceforth as an asset of the party. He has shown himself equal to almost any kind of public responsibility. The merits of the Governor-elect are by no means limited to his magnetic personality or his possession of the ordinary virtues. It might not be too much to say that he is the ablest and best public servant that has come out of Tammany Hall in a hundred years. Yet his sphere is local, not national.

*Senate
Elections
in the East*

It is not strange that the results of popular elections for the United States Senate in thirty-two States should have constituted a seven-day topic for newspaper discussion. But it will be more than a year before the change of personnel becomes visible at Washington; and by that time the country will have become acquainted with the new leaders, none of whom will seem wild or menacing. In all of the Eastern States except New Hampshire, and in all of the Middle Western States except Illinois, there were Senate elections this year. Senator Hale (Rep.) wins another term in Maine, Hon. Frank L. Greene (Rep.) succeeds the venerable Senator Page of Vermont, Henry Cabot Lodge (running a long way behind his ticket) holds his Massachusetts seat. Senator McLean (Rep.) is reelected in Connecticut, and Senator Gerry (Dem.) of Rhode Island keeps his place for another term. In New York, the great swing to the Democratic column, which gave Al Smith



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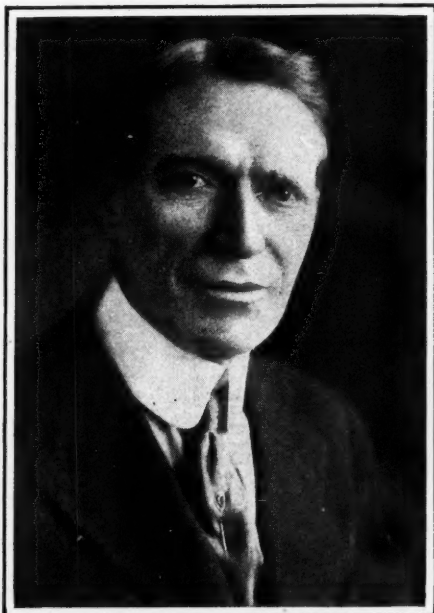
**HON. ROYAL S. COPELAND, SENATOR-ELECT
FROM NEW YORK**

(The popular personage who has been Commissioner of Public Health and President of the Board of Health of New York City since April, 1918, will replace Senator Calder at Washington. Twenty years ago he was serving as Mayor of Ann Arbor, Mich. He has long been prominent in the Methodist Church, and has been one of the leading homeopathic physicians of America. For ten years he was Dean of the New York Homeopathic Medical College and head of Flower Hospital.)

a plurality of 400,000 for Governor, also elected a Democratic Senator by about 260,000 over Calder (Rep.), who sought reelection. Dr. Copeland, the Senator-elect, is the head of the Health Department of New York City and a man of unusual energy. His nomination for the Senate in the Democratic convention at Syracuse had been a complete surprise to everybody, including himself. He came to New York as head of a hospital a good many years ago from Ann Arbor, Michigan. It was expected as a matter of course that Pennsylvania would go strongly Republican, electing Senators George Wharton Pepper and David A. Reed to fill places vacated by the death of their predecessors.

*Four New
Democratic
Senators*

In New Jersey, as in New York, the Democrats were victorious. Senator Frelinghuysen is defeated and will be succeeded by Governor Edward I. Edwards. In Dela-



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HON. EDWARD IRVING EDWARDS, SENATOR-ELECT FROM NEW JERSEY

(Governor Edwards of New Jersey will be fifty-nine years old on December 1. He was born in Jersey City, where he found a job in the First National Bank at the age of nineteen, rising to the presidency in 1916. He has served as State Controller and as a member of the State Senate, and has been Governor since January, 1920. "Who's Who" reminds us that he is an Episcopalian, an Elk, a Moose, and an Eagle. He has large and varied business interests)

ware, the Republican incumbent, Senator T. Coleman DuPont, is defeated by Thomas F. Bayard. The Senator-elect's father filled high posts under President Cleveland. The Bayard family of Delaware has been prominent in public life since colonial days. Maryland, like Delaware, is normally Democratic; and Senator France, Republican, must now yield his seat to the Democratic contestant, William Cabell Bruce. West Virginia, which like Maryland and Delaware oscillates between the parties, has failed to reelect Senator Sutherland (Rep.), and will send to Washington in his place Matthew M. Neely.

*Some
Southern
Results*

The reelection of Senator Swanson (Dem.) from Virginia was not in serious dispute, after he had beaten ex-Gov. Davis in the primaries. No Senators this year were elected from Kentucky, the Carolinas, Alabama, Louisiana and Arkansas. The

Georgia election involves a rapid succession of interesting personalities. Senator Tom Watson's recent death had been followed by the appointment of Mrs. W. H. Felton, an honor worthily bestowed upon a woman of advanced years who had won the admiration of the entire State. Her incumbency was nominal, and the newly elected Democratic Senator, Walter F. George, will take his seat at once. Florida has re-elected Senator Park Trammell (Dem.), and Tennessee has similarly honored Senator McKellar. Mississippi elects Herbert D. Stephens (Dem.) to succeed John Sharp Williams, who retires voluntarily to private life. In Texas, as in most of the Southern States, the real contests occur in the Democratic primaries rather than in the elections. Our readers are aware of the complicated and protracted struggle which resulted in the nomination of Earle B. Mayfield for the Senate to succeed Senator Culberson. In Missouri, Senator Reed (anti-Wilson Democrat) who had won his renomination in a memorable contest with Breckenridge Long, defeated the Republican candidate, R. R. Brewster, by a rather small plurality.

Ohio, Indiana and Michigan There were four Senatorial elections in the five States carved out of the old Northwest Territory. These five are Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Neither of Illinois' two seats falls in the 1922 class. In Wisconsin alone of this group of States, the results were never in question: Senator LaFollette's sweeping victory in the primaries was followed by his expected success at the polls, by a plurality of about 250,000. In Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, the results were uncertain until the votes were counted. The Ohio situation was deemed important because President Harding hails from that State, and a decisive Democratic victory would have been regarded as having some bearing upon the question of his renomination for another term. Senator Pomerene (Dem.) was seeking reelection, and it was commonly thought that his success at the polls would have made him a presidential candidate. The Republicans had nominated Hon. Simeon D. Fess, who is a prominent member of the House of Representatives, and formerly a college president and an author of standard text books. Mr. Fess succeeded in defeating Mr. Pomerene by a plurality of over 42,000. In almost everything else Mr. Fess has

been a warm supporter of the Harding Administration, but he had voted for the Bonus bill and he thus escaped the antagonism of the friends of that measure.

**Beveridge's
Defeat**

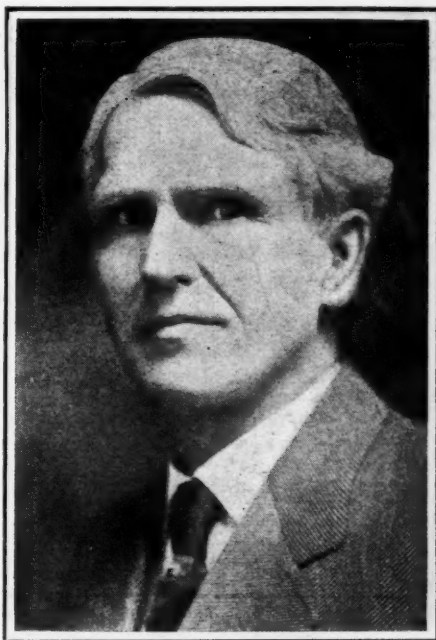
The contest in Indiana was to fill the seat now occupied by Senator New (Rep.). Mr. New had been defeated for renomination in a primary fight which had been won for ex-Senator Beveridge. The Democratic nominee was a former Governor, Samuel M. Ralston. The normal outlook for Indiana had been decidedly Democratic, and it was the opinion of the best political judges that New, if renominated, would have hardly a gambling chance. Mr Beveridge, on the other hand, was regarded as having a fighting chance to win on personal grounds. It is probably within bounds to say that no other candidate this year has discussed broad national issues with such independence, breadth, courage, and maturity of judgment as Mr. Beveridge. He was defeated, however, and Ralston won by a plurality of about 28,000. The Republican majority in the Senate would have been notably reinforced by so able and well-trained a leader as Beveridge, whose prestige is not affected by Ralston's election.

**Ferris
Wins in
Michigan**

In Michigan, Senator Townsend (Rep.) had won his renomination in a somewhat difficult primary ordeal, but he was defeated at the polls by Woodbridge N. Ferris, a former Governor and a popular educational leader. The incumbent's defeat is a sequel of the Newberry-Ford fight of 1918. Mr. Townsend, who has made an excellent record in the Senate, opposed the movement to unseat his colleague, Senator Newberry, and for this he was defeated by a small plurality. It is now intimated that Newberry may resign in the near future, in which case it would seem the reasonable thing to give Townsend the opportunity to make another run.

**The
"Agrarian"
Victories**

It is in a group of States west of the Mississippi river, and north of Missouri and Kansas, that the most sensational of this year's party situations have been found. These are States dependent upon agricultural prosperity in a marked degree. Iowa is so strongly Republican that its political contests are likely to be found inside the party



HON. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, SENATOR-ELECT FROM MICHIGAN

(Mr. Ferris, who will celebrate his seventieth birthday on January 6, was born and educated in Western New York, and studied medicine at the University of Michigan. He taught in business colleges for ten years, and then founded the Ferris Institute at Big Rapids, Mich., in 1884. This school for business training, which Mr. Ferris has conducted for almost forty years, has been eminently successful and popular. He was Governor of Michigan from January, 1913, to the end of 1916) —

camp. This year's real struggle was in the Republican primaries, where several conservative candidates were defeated by Col. Smith W. Brookhart. Many Republican leaders, including several ex-Governors, came out openly for the Democratic nominee, but Brookhart rolled up a large majority vote. He assumes the attitude of a special representative of farming interests of the West. The Republicans in Minnesota had been over-confident and had fully expected to reelect Senator Kellogg. The Democrats had nominated a woman, Mrs. Anna Dickie Olesen. A third candidate was a St. Paul dentist, Dr. Henrik Shipstead, who was the nominee of the Farmer-Labor party. Senator Kellogg seems to have been the victim of this three-cornered situation. Dr. Shipstead made a surprising canvass, while Mrs. Olesen came far short of polling the vote that the Democrats had expected. Opposition to Kellogg and the Republicans



HON. HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, SENATOR-ELECT
FROM MINNESOTA

(Dr. Shipstead is in the early forties and will be one of the youngest men in the Senate. He was born in Minnesota of Norwegian parentage, educated at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, and for a number of years has been practising dentistry in St. Paul. He enters the Senate as the first successful candidate of the Farmer-Labor party. He has stated that he will line up with LaFollette, Brookhart, and Frazier)

went to the independent candidate rather than to Mrs. Olesen; and so Dr. Shipstead will replace a Senator who has always been reasonably progressive, and whose legislative qualifications are exceptionally valuable. In Nebraska, Senator Hitchcock (Dem.) was a candidate for reelection. He has been even more prominent than Mr. Pomerene of Ohio as a leader on the Democratic side of the Senate. He loses his seat to Mr. R. B. Howell, also of Omaha, a vigorous local leader of a strongly progressive school of thought. In Senators Norris and Howell, Nebraska will have an important place among supporters of the farm bloc. South Dakota did not have a Senator to elect this year, but North Dakota was the scene of a notable contest. The Non-Partisan League and the so-called agrarian radicals had controlled the Republican primaries, and they nominated ex-Governor

Frazier for the Senate. The Democrats had nominated a lawyer of somewhat conservative type, Mr. J. F. T. O'Connor. In the election campaign a good many Republicans supported O'Connor; but Frazier was elected and will succeed McCumber, the present chairman of the Senate Finance Committee.

*Senators
from the
Farther West*

Montana exchanges one Democrat for another, Burton K. Wheeler, who was nominated to succeed Senator Myers, having carried the State. In Wyoming, Senator John B. Kendrick is reelected to succeed himself. Like Wyoming, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico all reelect the incumbent Democratic Senators for new terms. These Senators are William H. King (Utah), Key Pittman (Nevada), Henry F. Ashurst (Arizona), and A. A. Jones (New Mexico). Oregon did not elect a Senator this year, but in California and Washington the Republican incumbents, Hiram Johnson and Miles Poindexter, were renominated for the seats they now hold. Johnson was elected by his usual large majority, while Poindexter, in a close contest, lost the seat and will be succeeded by a Democrat, C. C. Dill.

*New Governors
in Many
States*

More than half of the States elected Governors in November, and most of the other States filled various local offices. It would



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HON. CLARENCE C. DILL, SENATOR-ELECT FROM
WASHINGTON

(Mr. Dill, who was born in Ohio in 1884, went West as a school teacher and began practising law at Spokane in 1910. He went to Congress as a Democrat from his district for the two terms, 1915-19)

be a decided gain from many standpoints if all State and local elections could be separated from those for federal offices. There is an increasingly strong tendency toward independent voting on local issues, and there are many arguments in favor of making it still easier to deal with State affairs on their own merits. The tendency in State elections has been Democratic this year, though not sweepingly so. New Hampshire elected a Democratic Governor, Fred F. Brown, and Vermont a Republican, Redfield Proctor. Connecticut elected C. A. Templeton, Republican, and Rhode Island, W. S. Flynn, Democrat. The Republicans reelected Governor Cox in Massachusetts, by a normal plurality of about 56,000, Senator Lodge running behind the ticket to the extent of about 50,000 votes. We have already spoken of the large majority that the Democrats secured for Al Smith as Governor in New York. G. S. Silzer (Dem.) was elected Governor of New Jersey, while in Pennsylvania Gifford Pinchot (Rep.) was successful by a majority of more than 250,000. In Michigan, Governor Groesbeck (Rep.) was reelected, and in Minnesota Governor Preus (Rep.) has won another term. In Nebraska Charles W. Bryan (brother of William Jennings Bryan), running for Governor on the Democratic ticket, was successful. It is worth while to note in how many cases a State has chosen a Senator of one party and a Governor of the other. This was true of Michigan, Minnesota, and Nebraska, as also of Ohio, where A. V. Donahey will be the new Governor. The Iowa Republicans reelected Governor Nate E. Kendall. Oklahoma, which had no Senatorial election, chose J. C. Walton (Dem.) as Governor, and Oregon also elected a Democrat, W. M. Pierce. Governor Nestos (Rep.) was reelected in North Dakota, and Governor McMaster, also a Republican, will have a new term in South Dakota. Governor Pat M. Neff is reelected in Texas. William Sweet, a Democrat, was elected in Colorado and F. W. Richardson, a Republican, in California. The supporters of Senator LaFollette reelected Governor Blaine in Wisconsin.

Issues and Results

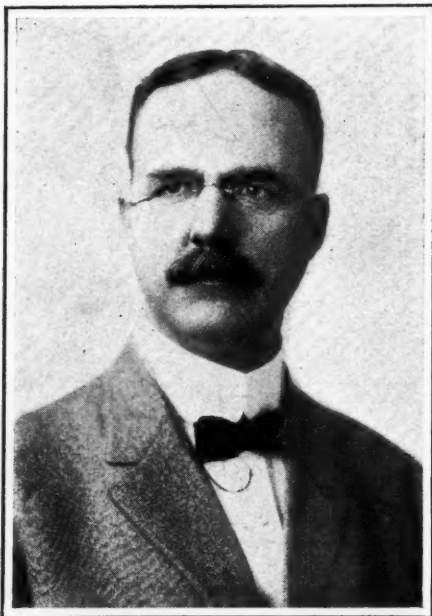
It is too soon to determine to what extent the Fordney-McCumber Tariff will affect future politics. It may be remarked, however, that the Republicans were not successful in expounding or justifying the new



HON. GIFFORD PINCHOT, GOVERNOR-ELECT OF PENNSYLVANIA, WITH MRS. PINCHOT AND THEIR SON

(Mr. Pinchot, who graduated at Yale in 1889, studied forestry abroad and became our foremost leader in the scientific management of forests. He was head of the Forest Service in the Department of Agriculture at Washington, and was for many years a professor of forestry at Yale. For twelve years he has been head of the National Conservation Association. For the past two years he has been Forestry Commissioner of Pennsylvania. He has been one of the leaders of the progressive wing of the Republican party, and his election as Governor is one of the chief Republican victories of last month.)

tariff to the voters, and they seem to have made few friends for it. If the Republicans are to continue to support high tariff policies they must discover among themselves some leaders who can restore protectionist enthusiasm. As matters stand, the average Republican is almost or quite as doubtful about the new tariff as the average Democrat. Sentiment on the tariff question no longer follows party lines. While it cannot now be said that sentiment on the prohibition question takes the partisan form, it would seem that the "wets" are becoming increasingly fanatical in their hostility to the Eighteenth Amendment and its supporting laws, and that these fanatics show a marked tendency to array themselves on the Democratic side. Republican politicians, on the other hand, show a good deal of timidity about identifying their party too strongly with the support of prohibition.



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HON. R. B. HOWELL, SENATOR-ELECT FROM
NEBRASKA

(Mr. Howell will be one of the most interesting new Senators on either side of the House. He is a progressive Republican of the best type, and is staunch for the interests of western farmers. He was born in Michigan in 1864, and graduated at the United States Naval Academy in 1885, later studying law and engineering and going into business at Omaha. After holding several State and city offices, over a period of years, he came to be widely known for his successful management of municipally owned utilities. He is a strong advocate of prohibition, and believes the country's prosperity is identified with the dry policy.)

The "Wets" and Their Agitation In a number of States the drink question came up for the popular vote in one form or in another. Thus in Illinois the voters were given a chance to record their preference on the so-called "beer and light wine" question; and the "wets" polled about twice as many votes as the strict prohibitionists. In Ohio, on the other hand, where the same proposal was voted upon, the "drys" were victorious, though by a less emphatic majority. California, which had been regarded as favorable to the making and selling of wine, gave a decided majority for the drys on the proposal for more strict State enforcement laws. Massachusetts, on the other hand, rejected a proposal for stricter regulations. While these State votes have some significance, they are by no means conclusive as to public opinion. Thus in Illinois the Prohibition leaders advised their followers not to dignify the submission of

the "beer and light wine" question by voting one way or the other. The defeat of Senator Frelinghuysen, and the election to the Senate of Governor Edwards, in New Jersey, is regarded as the most notable victory for the wets.

*A
One-sided
Battle*

It is fair to say that the wets were aggressive this year, while the drys, who have embodied their principles in the Constitution of the country and in the laws of the land, did not feel themselves under urgent necessity to fight over again a battle which they had already won. While it is true that Mr. Volstead (who is chairman of the House Judiciary Committee that drafted the enforcing legislation) was not reelected to Congress, the man who will succeed him, Rev. O. J. Kvale, declares himself to be "drier than Volstead." If Prohibition were in immediate danger, the fight would take a different form. The real drink issue before the country is not that of modification of the laws, but rather that of enforcement. A great deal of intoxicating stuff of a crude and deadly kind is manufactured in city cellars and in mountain retreats by so-called "moonshiners"; and this vile fluid is sneakily vended by hotel and restaurant servants, or peddled among householders by "bootleggers." Smugglers by land and by sea also bring in large quantities of foreign-made liquors. Unfortunately, there are a good many people even of moderate intelligence and of respectable standing, who are so misguided as to encourage these detestable forms of lawbreaking. They have joined the alcoholic "soaks" and the depraved classes in bribing bell-boys and in patronizing the truck-drivers and chauffeurs who are amassing fortunes in this criminal traffic, and who will end in jail.

*Law-breaking
and Its
Consequences*

The smugglers and vendors, meanwhile, are rapidly degenerating, as might have been expected, and now find themselves classed with the law-breakers who supply habit-forming drugs to school-children. In due time this furtive sale of intoxicants will have its inevitable results. Decent people will find that they must stand with supporters of law and order, or else confess that they are drifting morally to the level of the debased people who thrive corruptly upon an illicit and a contemptible traffic. The vast majority of the people who were

formerly engaged in the liquor traffic are exceedingly happy to be out of it and do not condone law-breaking. Most of the distilling and brewing establishments are profitably engaged in other forms of industry. Premises of former retail drink shops, by the scores of thousands, are used for better purposes that have proved decidedly more profitable on the average than saloon-keeping had been. Millions of workmen who formerly patronized saloons as a regular thing are spending more money upon their families, and are putting a great deal more money into savings banks.

Private Conduct No one who had considered
Always the the matter intelligently had
Basis ever for a moment supposed

that prohibition would not be followed by just the kind of smuggling, moonshining, and bootlegging that now prevails. All that can be expected is a reasonably honest and faithful effort to enforce the laws. When such an effort is made, there will remain an excess of lawbreaking, the cure for which must lie chiefly in the domain of private conduct. There will never be a time when any kind of law enforcement can result in freedom from misdemeanor and crime, without the constant support of a spirit of righteousness in the community that makes for good behavior. There are some communities in the world where theft is common; and there are others where theft is almost unknown. The prevalence of this offense in one instance, and the freedom from it in another instance, are not so much a matter of laws and police control as of private habits and standards. The same thing is true of various other forms of offense against law and order. We are not attempting in this paragraph to argue that our national prohibition system came at a fortunate time, or that legal prohibition is the only, or the best, way to deal with the drink evil. We are merely contending that the fact of flagrant violation of the prohibitory laws does not prove that the laws themselves ought to be repealed. The American people having put prohibition into the Constitution, the national self-respect demands that the system be given a fair trial. There are particular issues arising in the practical business of applying the laws against liquor that present unexpected difficulties. The latest of these issues has to do with the control of ships in port and at sea.

"Dry"
or "Wet"
Ships

Attorney-General Daugherty's ruling on October 6, affecting the transportation and use of liquor on ships, promptly brought active legal and diplomatic complications. The new order forbade the transportation or use of liquor on American ships at any time or in any place. As to foreign vessels, the prohibition was, of course, only against liquor carried inside the three-mile limit, but it prevented carrying stores under seal when foreign vessels touched at American ports. Bills of equity were immediately filed on behalf of the various American steamship companies which sought to obtain an injunction against the enforcement of the Attorney-General's ruling. Counsel for the shipping lines declared that unless relief were obtained, passenger traffic would cease on American vessels, and argued that Congress could not have had in mind any such blow to our shipping interests, citing its many urgent expressions of belief in the necessity for a prosperous and active American merchant marine. On October 27, however, Judge Hand of the Federal Court decided against the pleas of the shipping men. He held that ships flying the American flag remain American territory no matter where they may be on the seven seas. As such, they are subject to the Eighteenth Amendment and to the Volstead Act and cannot sell or transport intoxicating liquors.

Judge
Hand's
Opinion

American shipping concerns, chief of which are the International Mercantile Marine Company and the United American Lines, appealed to the Supreme Court; and arrangements have been made to advance the case for a prompt decision. Judge Hand's opinion found it a paradoxical thing that a country "professing under this fundamental law to forbid the use of intoxicants," should allow them without stint upon ships that sail under its flag. As to the plea concerning the disastrous consequence to the American merchant marine, the Judge remarked that in the first place discrimination applied only to passenger vessels, a small part of any merchant marine, and that in the second place the Eighteenth Amendment obviously involved the immediate destruction of property values much greater than the worth of all the passenger fleets—in other words, that it plainly disregarded ordinary commercial interests.

*The Plight
of Foreign
Ships*

The old regulations required ships of foreign registry to keep their liquor sealed for such time as they were within the three-mile limit, but allowed officers and crew to receive their regular allowances from ships' stores even when they were in ports of the United States. Under the new ruling, the foreign ships are flatly prohibited from bringing any liquor whatsoever, sealed or unsealed, within the three-mile limit of the United States and its insular possessions. The foreign interests, also, have brought their grievance into court with the expectation that an early decision may be obtained from the Supreme Court, and the United States Government is delaying enforcement of the new regulations until it is finally ascertained just how far the Attorney-General's ruling can be legally carried out.

*A High
Tide of
Smuggling*

In the meantime, a vast trade in smuggling liquor is going on, chiefly between Canada, the Bahamas, the French island of Miquelon (about ten miles south of Newfoundland), and the United States. "Rum-running" vessels clear from Nassau for Newfoundland or other ports and come to anchor off the New Jersey coast at some point outside the three-mile territorial limit. Then, either in their own small boats or more often by means of swift motor boats coming from the mainland, they transfer their cargoes to American territory. It will be remembered that Secretary Hughes, of the Department of State, proposed to the British Government a treaty permitting the search of liquor and smuggling craft within twelve miles of the shore line, the treaty rights to be reciprocal, and that Great Britain politely refused to consider such a thing. Furthermore, the British embassy laid protest before our State Department in the matter of the seizure of a British schooner eight miles off the Atlantic coast. Secretary Hughes published the record of abortive negotiations without comment, and our Government has adopted the practise of **allowing** the liquor-laden vessels to remain at anchor undisturbed so long as there is no adequate evidence to prove that they are transferring their illicit cargoes to United States territory by means of their own boats. If they attempt to do this, they are at once taken into custody. If boats from shore take off the stuff, the foreign ships are immune.

*Laws, and
Social
Standards*

Our moralists and social reformers must not forget that laws intended to regulate social customs and personal conduct cannot succeed in the long run unless they are in accord with the true conviction of steadfast majorities. The old-fashioned temperance movement, which had to do with private conduct rather than with laws, must not be abandoned for the pursuit of politics, if "King Alcohol" is to be permanently dethroned. Sooner or later, it is likely enough, Prohibition will have to be re-submitted for a deliberate national verdict. The tendency to invoke laws in the interest of improved manners and morals has perhaps gone already a little farther than is desirable in some directions. The extent to which the principle of censorship may be wisely applied has been under much discussion of late. We have laws in all the States under which there is ample authority to suppress anything in the way of books, pictures, or exhibitions of any kind that are manifestly immoral or indecent. Standards change from time to time, however, and books and plays are tolerated by the present generation which would have been promptly suppressed by the police thirty years ago. It does not follow that moral standards are lower to-day, but rather that conventional points of view have been altered. Education of the public taste, rather than appeals to the police, must safeguard the manners and morals of the community.

*Massachusetts
Rejects "Movie"
Censorship*

Massachusetts has now taken this view in a remarkable popular vote on election day, which has sweepingly condemned the law enacted last year providing for censorship of motion picture films by the Commissioner of Public Safety. This does not mean that the voters in Massachusetts desire the exhibition of improper films. There is ample provision of law already to suppress a film when once exhibited, if it is clearly indecent or immoral. The Massachusetts enactment that has now been nullified at the polls provided that no motion picture film should be exhibited until it first had been passed upon by a Commissioner of Public Safety who was empowered "to disapprove any film or part thereof which is obscene, indecent, immoral, inhuman, or tends to debase or corrupt morals, or incite to crime." It is not likely that any mere Com-

missioner could exercise so indefinite a discretion with wisdom. Motion picture producers, under the steady leadership of Mr. Will H. Hays as head of their organization, are themselves trying to elevate the standards of their industry; and it is credibly reported that they are beginning to succeed beyond expectations. Where the legal censorship method has been tried, it is not apparent that the results justify the means.

*New York
to Abolish
the Censors*

New York at present has a "Motion Picture Censorship Commission," and Governor Al Smith in his first message to the Legislature will recommend its abolition. The Democratic State platform had declared against censorship, and the Senate, which will be Democratic by a majority of one, will accept the Governor's view. The Assembly, with a small Republican majority, is not likely to insist upon the continuance of a censorship system which, after a brief trial, is not supported by public opinion. But there is need of vigilance.

*The Bonus
Leaders are
Encouraged*

The advocates of the soldiers' bonus have gained encouragement from the elections, and are hoping that they may be able to reenact their measure in the new Congress by majorities large enough to over-ride the presidential veto. It will be remembered by our readers that the bonus failed on September 20, only because its supporters barely lacked the necessary two-thirds majority in the Senate to over-ride the President's negative. In several States, notably Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, California, and Montana, large majorities voted in favor of the payment of State funds to soldiers. In Oklahoma there was a close vote on the same question. Several Senators and a good many Congressmen would seem to have escaped defeat by virtue of their bonus record. Some of these men are said to hold the rather cynical view that since such a measure was pretty sure to be enacted in the future, regardless of its merits, they might as well insure their political lives by climbing on the band wagon before it was too late. President Harding would not have vetoed the Bonus bill if it had carried with it adequate provision of raising the money. There are many reasons why a sales tax would be particularly well adapted to the supply of a fund for "adjusted compensation."

*America
Is Harmonious
in Contrast*

It is when we try to detach ourselves from the detail, the flurry and the local incident of our own recent electoral competitions, and seek to understand something of current political strife and turmoil in other countries, that we can appreciate the essential harmony of American life. When one adopts such standards of comparison, the so-called agrarian movement in our Western States has not even a faintly pink tinge of revolutionary radicalism. American farmers are always conservative, although they may sometimes seem to favor mistaken economic nostrums. In so far as public policy is concerned, the agricultural depression should be regarded as of national concern. But for neglect, ignorance and stupidity, such problems would not become bones of political contention. Our tariff is not in any sense a profound political issue, and the merits or demerits of the new schedules will have to be decided by practical experience. Al Smith turns from his profitable trucking business and prepares to take up the duties of the governorship with everybody's good will. Governor Miller, with the prestige of a fine record at Albany during two years of public life, returns to his law practice with the most brilliant prospects and a fair chance to fall into the enviable line of succession for leadership of the New York Bar. Mr. Beveridge has better resources than politics, and his defeat for the Senate in no manner affects the brightness of his prospects for further success as a publicist, a historian, and a guide in the sphere of statesmanship. America is the land of opportunity and hope; and most of our public men are versatile enough not to stake more than half of their assets in the political game.

*English
Parties and
Leaders*

In England, on the other hand, the political career for most of those who attain prominence is continuous, and is perhaps too distinct from the pursuits of private life for the best interests of the country. The upset of the Coalition Ministry does not retire Mr. Lloyd George to private life. He will remain in the House of Commons, conspicuous as an opposition leader. British statesmanship has made more miscalculations through being too highly versed in world politics than through inexperience. It would be an error, however, to belittle in any manner the abilities or the characters

of the men who are in the front rank of British public life. They have been performing on an immense stage, trying to steer the fortunes of the British Empire through the chaotic period of reconstruction following the greatest of world wars. Mr. Lloyd George has been much more than a clever politician and parliamentarian.

*The
November
Crisis*

In many a crisis he has shown heroic qualities of courageous leadership. The new government chief, Mr. A. Bonar Law, has been an industrious and intelligent statesman; but his emergence as a Prime Minister is regarded as a makeshift for temporary and transitional purposes. Mr. Simonds, in our present issue, discusses at length the larger aspects of the political situation in England, dwelling especially upon Lloyd George's European policies. Mr. P. W. Wilson, who has himself served in Parliament, writes for us an informing article upon the British party system and present-day leaders. The holding of general parliamentary elections came on short notice; and the Coalition had lasted so long that it was found difficult in practise to reestablish party lines for the sake of the elections that were held on November 15. Every one believed that the new Parliament thus chosen would not last longer than a year or two, and that with the gradual regrouping of definite parties there would soon arise the necessity of another election.

*Bonar Law
Takes the
Helm*

Lloyd George's downfall had come with the success of the Turks and the failure of the British policies in the Near East. A great majority of the Conservatives who had been supporting the Coalition Ministry held a conference and decided to withdraw their backing. This left Mr. Lloyd George without a working majority in the House of Commons, and he resigned at once. The Conservative majority, meanwhile, had voted unanimously in favor of Mr. Andrew Bonar Law as their leader, and the King accordingly sent for Mr. Law and instructed him to form a new Cabinet. This mandate was speedily carried out, and November 15 was set for the election of a new Parliament, the time having come for the country to give its verdict. It will be remembered that Mr. Lloyd George had appealed to the country just after the Armistice, so that he might go into the Peace Confer-

ence with a fresh vote of confidence. His Coalition Ministry was sustained in the elections of December, 1918, by overwhelming majorities, who were overjoyed at the ending of the four years' war and who accepted the Government's promise to make the Germans pay for everything and to "hang the Kaiser."

*The
Election
Results*

The fact that a life-long Liberal like Lloyd George headed the Coalition, served rather to disguise the immense superiority in numbers of Coalition Tories as against Coalition Liberals who in an earlier period had supported Campbell Bannerman and Asquith. The division between the Lloyd George Liberals and those who have continued to follow Asquith could not be healed in time to meet the sudden call for an election on November 15. Furthermore, many former Liberals of the radical wing had gone over into the Labor party. In the new Parliament the Conservatives have much the largest group, but the Labor party is strong, and the two Liberal groups are about equally represented, though not numerically large. Lloyd George's personal popularity remains almost unimpaired, although his future return to power is wholly dependent upon reunion of the Non-Conservatives.

*The Fascisti
Success in
Italy*

Mr. Simonds devotes a portion of this month's survey of European politics to the overturn of the Italian Ministry, and to the picturesque victory of the Fascisti. What had threatened to be a violent seizure of the Government was fortunately converted into an emotional uprising before which all effective opposition melted away. Everybody joined the Black-shirt parade, which entered Rome with the ostentatious approval of the King. Italy seems to have decided that the best way to avert a revolution is to have everybody sign up as a cheerful and happy revolutionist. The Fascisti are not Socialists, but Nationalists. They invoke the Italian spirit, and their ambitious dreams are somewhat disquieting in view of the possibility of trouble with Jugoslavia, and differences with France regarding future spheres of influence in and about the Mediterranean. Benito Mussolini, the new Fascisti Premier, is a public man of the professorial type who seems to have exceptional talent for the exercise of authority, and who inspires more confidence at home than abroad.

*The
Turkish
Menace*

If an observer of current affairs on our planet could be so placed as to see everything at equally close range, he would undoubtedly regard the return of the Turks as the most sensational and disturbing of the present season's events, while he would find economic conditions in Germany and Central Europe drifting ominously. As we go to press, the expected agreements between the Allies and Turkey have not been negotiated. The situation will be more definite for purposes of analysis and description in our next issue. There has been real danger that worse things might befall the great city of Constantinople than were suffered in Smyrna. There is rapidly taking place a dislocation of Christian peoples on a scale that goes beyond the anxious fears of a few weeks ago. Our readers should remember that the Greeks of Constantinople had been there for many centuries when the Turks captured the city about forty years before Columbus discovered America. There is no place in Greece or in adjacent Balkan States for the permanent colonization of Greek refugees from Smyrna, Constantinople, and Thrace. The emergency is so exceptional that it fairly presents to us the question whether or not we should modify our immigration laws in favor of the admission of a certain number of refugee Greeks.

*The
Refugees and
Their Flight*

The war period called a great many of the Greeks who were already here back to their home country. Under the present percentage system, this year's quota of Greek immigrants is already more than filled. Some of the closest students of existing immigration facts and conditions are asking the authorities at Washington to extend American hospitality to a certain number of these homeless Greeks—perhaps twenty-five thousand. The rightful place for these Greeks of course is in Constantinople, Thrace and Asia Minor. Their present plight is due not so much to the failure of the Greek ambitions, or even to the ruthlessness of the Turks, as to the mistakes of Allied policy in dealing with the Near East after the Armistice. But scolding at such errors will not relieve the present situation. It is the emergency itself, and the sad plight of hundreds of thousands of people, that must claim our first attention. The American Red Cross, the Near East Relief, and the other agencies that have joined



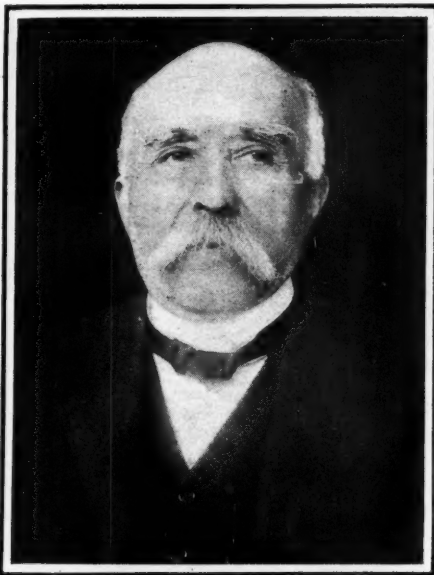
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BENITO MUSSOLINI, NEW ITALIAN PREMIER

hands in a great effort to mitigate suffering in the Near East have taken up their work with energy under the lead of Mr. Will Hays (Chairman of the Relief Committee appointed by President Harding), and it is to be hoped that results comparable with the American help extended to Russian famine sufferers will speedily follow.

*A Question
of Allied
Unity*

After increasing anxiety during the first two weeks of November, there began to appear some fresh hopes that the Turkish authorities might restrain Moslem fanatics in Constantinople and save the city from destruction. The Turks have always been shrewd diplomatists, and their return to Europe has been due solely to their perception of the failure of England, France, and Italy to stand together. If Lord Curzon, Premier Poincaré, and Premier Mussolini can agree, some more or less permanent kind of peace with the Turks may come out of the Lausanne conference. It was expected that M. Clemenceau, who was due to arrive in New York on November 18, would try to explain with entire frankness what he regards as the essentials of French policy, whether toward Germany or toward the situation in the Near East. There has



DR. GEORGES CLEMENCEAU

(Who was French Prime Minister and Minister for War during the last half of the conflict and represented France in the Peace Conference. He came to the United States in 1865 and remained four years. He was born in 1841 and is now in his eighty-second year. He is a physician and journalist)

never been any doubt about Clemenceau's warm sentiments toward America. He had once lived in this country and speaks American English with idiomatic force. He is admired here for his high qualities of courage, and for his loyal devotion to the best interests of France.

*The Coal
Commission
at Work*

The fact-finding Coal Commission appointed to inquire into and report on the ownership of mines, prices of coal, profits, and labor conditions, began to function on October 18 with Mr. John Hays Hammond, the well-known engineer, as chairman. The President has urged the commission to submit its findings as promptly as possible; and in any case a preliminary report must be handed in before January 15, further investigation continuing thereafter. The country is not by any means "out of the woods" in the matter of its fuel dangers. The contract between the bituminous operators and their employees expires on April 1, 1923; from present indications, a new agreement will not be reached by that date, and a strike seems inevitable. Moreover, a strike coming next spring will be much

more harmful to the industries of the country than the long one through the past summer, because there will not be time before next April to accumulate stocks of anything like the volume of those that existed in April, 1922. It is also true that unless present signs fail the industrial activity of the country will be much greater in the spring and summer of 1923 than in the preceding year. Therefore, the work of the commission is of immediate importance, and there is little enough time to go into the many complex matters which it must study. Congress appropriated \$200,000 for the expenses of the inquiry.

*A Permanent
Coal
Commission?*

The point has been made, and forcefully, that although Mr. Hammond's commission is of excellent quality as to its personnel, and although it must give a great deal that will be of value in the present emergency, our real need is for a permanent commission which will study the coal industry from year to year and be ready at any time, in the event of price discriminations, strikes or exorbitant charges, to place the facts before the Government and the public. It is true that conditions change rapidly in the coal industry, and that investigation made this winter may have little value in succeeding years, while there can be no doubt whatever that these succeeding years will bring renewed questions and troubles. Even if such a permanent body should cost as much each year as this special commission, the expenditure would be minute as compared with the losses sustained by the miners and the public in the recent prolonged strike. It is estimated that the disruption of the industry last summer cost the country \$1,190,000,000,—\$450,000,000 lost by the mine workers in wages, \$300,000,000 by the railroads, \$40,000,000 by the operators, and \$400,000,000 by the public in increased cost of fuel. This would mean a tax of more than \$10 on every man, woman, and child in the United States.

*Germany's
Coal
Council*

While Germany's Kohlenrat (or coal council) is no exact model for our use, its success in dealing with many problems of the coal industry which we have not solved in America is helpfully suggestive from the point of view of those who advocate a permanent fact-finding coal commission in the United States. The Kohlenrat was

instituted three years ago; the body is composed of representatives of the mine-workers, of the operators, of the consumers, of the merchants, and of the Government. Before agreements affecting wages and hours of labor can go into effect, they must obtain the approval of this council; and this is true also of all legislation affecting the coal industry. Thus, if movements are made that might tend unwarrantably to increase the cost of coal to the public, the representatives of the consumers in the council have their opportunity to make opposition. The committees of the Kohlenrat include some that are charged with having in hand always the latest and most authoritative facts and statistics of the business of mining coal, and in the case of a threatened strike of magnitude this information is at hand for the benefit of the public before the disaster comes, instead of being painfully accumulated after much loss and trouble.

*Too Many
Men
Employed*

The suggestion made some months ago that the best move toward the solution of our coal problem would be the abandonment of their occupation by, say, 200,000 coal miners and their going into other industries, was criticized as unfeeling. The industrial history of this autumn suggests, however, that it was sound. Serious shortages of labor have developed in the building trades, steel, cement, and other industries, and these have had to bid high in wages to get men away from other occupations. It is obvious that the public cannot be expected to continue paying, in the high prices for coal, a full week's wages to the miner who only works three or four days. The whole matter of the shortened working day has been coming in for searching analysis and serious questioning of late by observant economists who cannot at all be classed as "reactionaries" and "standpatters." Labor leaders and socialists, more particularly in Europe, are coming to see that unless with the shortened work day production is maintained, it is the people at large, including the laborers themselves, who suffer in the last analysis, rather than em-

ployers. The increased cost of production is added to the price of the goods to consumers; the employers' profit is maintained, and the consuming public, of which the laborers themselves form so large a part, pays the final bill.

*A Program
for Saving
Germany*

In November appeared the report of the experts from France, England and America who had been invited by Germany to study her present economic situation and recommend a way out of the tangle, which seems to many utterly hopeless. Professors Keynes, Brand, Jenks, and Cassel, after a considerable period of investigation and study in Germany, advocated in this report a two-years' moratorium as to reparation payments of any kind. Stabilization of the mark—meaning the prevention of its further decrease in value as measured in gold—they regard as an absolutely essential part of the plan; and they believe it can be done on the basis of about 3500 marks to the dollar, through the use of the Reichsbank's gold reserve, provided reparation payments can be halted for two years. The report suggests that if the two years of grace are not sufficient, the time should be extended, and that in no case should Germany be required to begin payments again until they can be made from a real and balanced budget. These economists point to the fact that with marks figured at 3500 to the dollar, the Reichsbank's gold would be nearly twice the value of the note issue, clearly enabling the German Government to "peg" the mark at this suggested valuation, by purchasing currency as needed to achieve that purpose. The whole question of Germany's currency debauch is exceedingly well discussed for our readers in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS by an eminent authority, Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin. On November 14, the Cabinet of Chancellor Joseph Wirth resigned following the breakup of a parliamentary coalition between the United Socialists and the German People's Party. Reparations, currency, and internal economic problems proved too difficult for the Wirth Ministry.



RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From October 15 to November 15, 1922)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 15.—Dr. Marion Dorset, Department of Agriculture, is appointed to represent the United States on the Anthrax Advisory Commission of the Labor Conference at Geneva.

In Georgia Democratic primaries for Senator, Walter F. George, former Judge of the State Supreme Court, is nominated, defeating Gov Thomas W. Hardwick and two other candidates.

October 18.—The Coal Commission meets and elects John Hays Hammond as chairman; labor leaders and owner operators are summoned to informal conferences on procedure.

October 19.—Miss Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, is appointed to represent the United States on the advisory committee of the League Commission for Suppression of Traffic in Women and Children, at Geneva.

October 23.—The injunction requested by foreign ship lines against enforcement of the latest dry ruling of Attorney General Daugherty, prohibiting transportation of liquor in American ports, is denied.

October 26.—The Tariff Commission announces its rules for procedure under the "elastic" provisions of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff law; over thirty applications have been filed requesting relief.

Justice William R. Day resigns from the United States Supreme Court, after nineteen years of service.

The Interstate Commerce Commission holds hearings on its methods of supervising railroad safety issues, and its proposal to require sales of bonds to the highest bidder after open competitive bidding is criticized by railroad and banking executives.

October 27.—Judge Learned Hand, of the federal court at New York, decides that American ships must obey the Eighteenth (prohibition) Amendment the world over; exception is made as to Belgium, whose law requires departing steamers to carry a certain amount of liquor per passenger.

The federal Fuel Distributor announces coal price reductions at the mine of \$1.50 per ton in the Pittsburgh and Ohio No. 8 districts, and \$2.25 per ton in the Ohio Southern district.

October 31.—The City of New York, through its Board of Estimate, adopts a budget of \$353,351,812.67 for 1923—an increase of \$3,114,347.

November 3.—At Buffalo, N. Y., a "graft ring" composed of city officials is sentenced to prison terms and fines.

November 6.—The District of Columbia Court of Appeals declares invalid the minimum-wage law for women, on the ground that the present political equality of women removes their previous right to special protection.

November 7.—Elections are held throughout the country, for Representatives in Congress, United States Senators and Governors of States (see tables), and local officers.

The Republican majority in the Senate of the Sixty-eighth Congress is reduced from 24 to 10, standing 53 Republicans, 42 Democrats, and 1 Farmer-Labor; in the House the Republican majority is reduced from 165 to 15, standing 226 Republicans, 206 Democrats, 1 Socialist, 1 Independent, 1 Farmer-Labor.

Modification of present drastic prohibition laws was an issue in many States, and the "wets" claim election of 185 supporters in Congress. . . . California adopts the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act as a law of the State. . . . Ohio rejects a light-wine-and-beer proposal, while Illinois adopts one. . . . Massachusetts voters reject a prohibition-enforcement law passed by the legislature.

The soldier-bonus proposal in Iowa is passed, authorizing a bond issue of \$20,000,000 and bonus measures are approved in Illinois, Kansas, California, and probably also in Montana, where the voting is close. . . . In Maryland amendments are passed limiting State elections to once every four years and increasing Baltimore's legislative representation. . . . Minnesota approves a constitutional amendment providing a State rural-credit system. . . . In Oregon the Compulsory School act, which requires attendance at public schools and in effect abolishes private and parochial schools, is adopted. . . . New Jersey voters approve a bond issue of \$40,000,000 for good roads.

November 9.—President Harding calls Congress to meet in special session on November 20.

The United States Shipping Board is requested to permit the transfer to foreign (Panama) registry of the vessels *Resolute* and *Reliance*, on the ground that they cannot compete with foreign vessels without selling liquor.

November 13.—Medill McCormick, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, proposes abolition of the seniority rule in choosing chairmen of Senate committees on the ground that mere seniority of service may promote a man entirely out of sympathy with the rest of the committee.

November 14.—The United States Supreme Court decides that Japanese are not white persons and hence are not entitled to become naturalized citizens; there is, of course, no aspersions of racial inferiority, the privilege of naturalization being confined to white persons.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

October 16.—The Chilean cabinet under Premier Antonio Huneeus resigns; the Senate adopts the Tacna-Arica protocol, 19 to 12, with reservations.

October 19.—Premier Lloyd George and his Cabinet resign, and Andrew Bonar Law, the wealthy Scotch steelmaker, is named to succeed him; the resignation follows a meeting of the Conservatives, who vote at the Carlton Club, 186 to 87, to withdraw from the Coalition and act independently (see page 693).

October 21.—Juan Batista Vicini Burgos becomes Provisional President of Santo Domingo, and the régime of American occupation is ended.

October 23.—A. Bonar Law takes office as British Prime Minister, with Stanley Baldwin as new Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Curzon continuing as Foreign Minister.

October 24.—At a meeting in Naples of 90,000 Fascisti, of whom 40,000 are on military footing, Deputy Benito Mussolini declares, in furtherance of the plan to rule Italy, that Fascisti must hold the portfolios of Foreign Affairs, War, Navy, Labor, and Public Works.

October 25.—At Dublin, the Dail Eireann passes the Irish Constitution bill through final reading.

October 26.—The Italian Cabinet under Premier Facta resigns under the threat of a mobilization of Fascisti, who have a total membership of 800,000.

The British Parliament is dissolved by King George, thus ending the first five-year Parliament one year earlier than its limit of life.

October 28.—The Italian King, Victor Emmanuel, refuses to sign a decree proclaiming a state of siege throughout Italy.

October 30.—In Italy, Prof. Benito Mussolini, the Fascisti leader, forms a new cabinet, in which he is Minister of Interior and of Foreign Affairs, thus ending the "bloodless revolution" of the Fascisti.

October 31.—The Turkish Nationalist Government at Angora sentences to death the Turkish signers of the Treaty of Sèvres and the cabinet of former Premier Damad Ferid Pasha.

November 1.—The Mexican revolutionist, Gen. Francisco Murguia, is executed by court-martial after his capture in Durango.

November 2.—In British municipal elections, Labor elects in the provinces 215 of 574 candidates, and, in London, holds only four of the twelve councils formerly held, being reduced from 573 seats to 253.

November 3.—The Angora Nationalist Assembly dethrones the Sultan, Mohammed VI, and decrees an end of the Ottoman Empire; a Caliph is to be elected by the Assembly as the religious head of the Mohammedans and the National Assembly will take over the Government of the Turkish State.

November 5.—The Turkish Nationalists seize

UNITED STATES SENATORS ELECTED NOVEMBER 7

Arizona—Henry F. Ashurst, D.*
 California—Hiram W. Johnson, R.*
 Connecticut—George P. McLean, R.*
 Delaware—Thomas F. Bayard, D.
 Florida—Park Trammell, D.*
 Georgia—Walter F. George, D.
 Indiana—Samuel M. Ralston, D.
 Iowa—Smith W. Brookhart, R.
 Maryland—William Cabell Bruce, D.
 Massachusetts—Henry Cabot Lodge, R.*
 Michigan—Woodbridge N. Ferris, D.
 Minnesota—Henrik Shipstead, F-L.
 Mississippi—Herbert D. Stephens, D.
 Missouri—James A. Reed, D.*
 Montana—Burton K. Wheeler, D.
 Nebraska—R. B. Howell, R.
 Nevada—Key Pittman, D.*
 New Jersey—Edward I. Edwards, D.
 New Mexico—Andrieus A. Jones, D.*
 New York—Royal S. Copeland, D.
 North Dakota—Lynn J. Frazier, N.P.L.
 Ohio—Simeon D. Fess, R.
 Pennsylvania { David A. Reed, R.
 George Wharton Pepper, R.
 Rhode Island—Peter G. Gerry, D.*
 Tennessee—Kenneth McKellar, D.*
 Texas—Earle D. Mayfield, D.
 Utah—William H. King, D.*
 Vermont—Frank L. Greene, R.
 Virginia—Claude A. Swanson, D.*
 West Virginia—Matthew M. Neeley, D.
 Washington—Clarence C. Dill, D.
 Wisconsin—Robert M. LaFollette, R.*
 Wyoming—John B. Kendrick, D.*

*Reelected.

Democratic Senators succeed Republicans in Delaware, Indiana, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, New York, West Virginia, and Washington. Republican Senators succeed Democrats in Nebraska and Ohio.

GOVERNORS ELECTED NOVEMBER 7

Alabama—W. W. Brandon, D.
 Arizona—G. W. P. Hunt, D.
 California—E. W. Richardson, R.
 Colorado—William Sweet, D.
 Connecticut—C. A. Templeton, R.
 Georgia—C. M. Walker, D.
 Iowa—N. E. Kendall, R.*
 Kansas—J. M. Davis, D.
 Massachusetts—Channing H. Cox, R.*
 Michigan—A. J. Groesbeck, R.*
 Minnesota—J. A. O. Preus, R.*
 Nebraska—Charles W. Bryan, D.
 Nevada—James G. Scrugham, D.
 New Hampshire—Fred H. Brown, D.
 New Jersey—G. S. Silzer, D.
 New York—Alfred E. Smith, D.
 North Dakota—R. A. Nestos, N.P.L.*
 Ohio—A. V. Donahey, D.
 Oklahoma—J. C. Walton, D.
 Oregon—W. B. Pierce, D.
 Pennsylvania—Gifford Pinchot, R.
 South Carolina—T. G. McCleod, D.
 Rhode Island—W. S. Flynn, D.
 South Dakota—W. H. McMaster, R.*
 Tennessee—Austin Peay, D.
 Texas—Pat M. Neff, D.*
 Vermont—Redfield Proctor, R.
 Wisconsin—John J. Blaine, R.*
 Wyoming—W. B. Ross, D.

*Reelected.

Democratic Governors succeed Republicans in Arizona, Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Wyoming.

Constantinople and demand that the Allies leave; the city is placed under Rafet Pasha as Governor.

In England, 1426 candidates are nominated for the 558 seats and 57 candidates are unopposed for Parliament; the Conservatives number 474, Laborites 414, Independent Liberals 336, National Liberals 182, others 20.

The Polish elections to the Diet (national assembly) result in victory for the radicals, who carry forty per cent. of the 454 seats.

November 8.—The Bavarian Diet elects Dr Eugen von Knilling of the People's party as Premier.

Irish Free State troops capture Erskine Childers, supposed to be the "brains" behind De Valera.

November 13.—Rafet Pasha, Governor of Constantinople, insists on complete control of the city without Allied interference.

November 15.—Chancellor Joseph Wirth, of Germany, resigns with his Cabinet.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

October 15.—The *President Adams*, of United States registry, is compelled under British law to ship five quarts of brandy for steerage use before clearance papers are issued for departure from London.

October 16.—The British Government declines to adopt the American suggestion to extend the right of search and seizure of vessels to the twelve-mile limit in aid of prohibition enforcement; but the abuse of the British flag "is to be prevented."

October 18.—The fourth International Labor Conference opens at Geneva, Switzerland, under the League of Nations; Lord Burnham is elected president.

October 20.—Soviet Russia sends a note to Great Britain and Italy demanding participation in the Turkish peace conference.

Rear Adm. Samuel S. Robinson, military governor of Santo Domingo, issues a proclamation stating that American marines will be withdrawn as soon as the Provisional President, Juan Batista Vicini Burgos, has ratified executive orders and laws of American administration in the island.

October 23.—Secretary Hughes invites the Central American republics of Guatemala, San Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Costa Rica to attend a disarmament conference at Washington on December 4.

October 26.—Britain, France, and Italy invite to a Near East peace conference at Lausanne the United States, Greece, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Japan, and Turkey (both governments); and the Allies announce that Russia and Bulgaria have been invited to confer on control of the Straits.

Japanese troops evacuate Siberia in ten transports leaving Vladivostok; the occupation cost Japan 1,500,000,000 yen, and the number of Japanese civilians has been reduced from 10,000 to 2,000, most of the remainder being in Vladivostok, where American, British, French, and Japanese warships will maintain order until the Chita forces take over the civil administration.

The Peruvian Government is ordered by the International Arbitration Commission to pay to the United States \$125,000 in settlement of the guano claim of John Celestin Landreau, pending for fifty years.

The Council of Ambassadors agrees to refer the question of free passage of the Kiel Canal to the

International Court of Justice, to settle the dispute between Germany and the Allies arising from refusal of passage to Allied ships during Russia's war with Poland a year and a half ago.

October 27.—The Mexican Government closes its Consulate General at New York in protest against attachment of its funds and property under order of the State Supreme Court.

The United States releases the Canadian schooner *Emerald* which had been seized beyond the three-mile limit by prohibition enforcement agents.

October 28.—The American State Department officially announces that the United States will send observers to Lausanne who will not have plenipotentiary powers since we were not at war with Turkey and did not sign the Treaty of Sèvres.

October 29.—The Reparation Commission goes to Berlin to discuss economic and financial conditions in Germany; Roland W. Boyden and Colonel James A. Logan are the American observers.

November 1.—The Mexican Embassy at New York is reopened after lifting of the attachment order of a local court, following investigation by Secretary Hughes.

Great Britain and Costa Rica request Chief Justice Taft to arbitrate the Amory oil dispute.

The Claims Commission begins settlement of American war claims against Germany, at a meeting in Washington with Justice William R. Day presiding; Judge Edwin B. Parker (American) and Dr. Wilhelm Kiesselbach (German) are the other members.

November 7.—Four members of a group of six foreign financial experts report on stabilization of the German mark; they recommend a two-year moratorium from reparations payments and fixing the value of the mark at between 3,000 and 3,500 to the dollar; the report is signed by Jeremiah Jenks of the United States, John M. Keynes and Robert H. Brand of Great Britain, and Gustav Cassel of Sweden.

November 8.—Prince Celasio Caetani is named as Italian Ambassador to the United States.

November 11.—The Reparation Commission returns to Paris, after two weeks in Berlin studying German finances.

November 13.—Turkish Nationalists order evacuation from Asia Minor within thirty days by all Christians (numbering probably more than 1,000,000), who flee in terror from interior points; and nine prominent anti-Nationalist leaders are executed at Constantinople, while the majority of officials of the Sultan's old government depart under British protection.

The Lausanne peace conference between Turks and Greeks is postponed until November 20, despite General Harington's advice to avoid delay.

Germany proposes, in a note to the Reparation Commission, a plan for stabilization of the mark by which the Reichsbank will advance to the Berlin Government 500,000,000 gold marks, providing an equal amount is loaned from abroad and Germany is released from all payments in cash or in kind for a period of three or four years.

November 14.—The United States designates as "chief observers" at the Turko-Greek peace conference at Lausanne, Switzerland, Ambassador (to Italy) Richard Washburn Child and Joseph C. Grew, Minister to Switzerland, while Rear Admiral Mark C. Bristol, American High Commissioner at Constantinople, is appointed as "associated ob-

server"; and these officials will protect capitulations essential to safeguarding non-Moslem interests, the "open door," educational and religious institutions, freedom of the Straits, and racial minorities.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

October 16.—Imports of British coal since July are estimated at 1,500,000 tons, to meet the coal strike shortage.

October 17.—C-2, the Army's largest "blimp" type of airship, explodes on return from her transcontinental flight to San Diego, Cal., and is destroyed by fire at San Antonio, Texas.

October 18.—Brig. Gen. William Mitchell establishes a new official world's airplane speed record of 224.05 miles per hour at Mount Clemens, Mich.

October 19.—The Mayor of Portland, Oregon, expels 201 Industrial Workers of the World, in a crisis of the longshoremen's strike.

October 20.—The American Legion elects Alvin M. Owsley, of Denton, Texas, as National Commander, succeeding Hanford MacNider, at its New Orleans annual convention.

October 25.—Work is begun on a tunnel under the Hudson River for vehicular traffic between New York and New Jersey; there will be six shields, each 29 ft. 6 in. in diameter and cutting 9,250 feet (3,400 feet being under the river); the tunnel is expected to be completed in thirty-six months.

October 30.—A water-cooled radio vacuum transmission tube is perfected in the General Electric laboratories at Schenectady by J. H. Payne, from discoveries of Dr. A. W. Hull and Dr. Irving Langmuir, who states that "this type of tube will supply 1,000 kilowatts of 20,000 cycle power at an efficiency of 70 per cent., operating with an anode voltage of 20,000 volts direct current, and a cathode voltage of twenty volts and current of fifty amperes, thus consuming about one kilowatt."

November 2.—London, it is announced, has a population of 7,480,201 according to the 1921 census; males decreased 54,762 and females increased 17,600 in ten years; in London County, of 1,120,897 private families, 38 per cent. occupy separate dwellings, 32 per cent. live two families to a dwelling, and 30 per cent. live in tenements.

November 3.—The London *Times* comes under the control and ownership of John Walter and the Hon. John Jacob Astor; it had been owned by Lord Northcliffe until his death.

November 4.—A new non-stop airplane record is established by Lieutenants John A. Macready and Oakley G. Kelly, who fly from San Diego, Cal., to Indianapolis, Ind., 2,060 miles, before being forced to land.

November 5.—The International Chamber of Commerce perfects plans for a world court of arbitration for trade disputes, independent of national governments, with headquarters at Paris; twenty-seven nations will name business men to serve on the court; among American leaders are Owen D. Young, chairman, Newton D. Baker, and Irving T. Bush.

November 6.—At Spangler, Pa., an explosion in a coal mine kills more than eighty miners.

November 11.—In Chile, the provinces of Atacama, Coquimbo, and Antofagasta suffer disaster from earthquake and tidal wave; it is estimated that 2500 lives are lost.

November 14.—Formulation of a judicial code of ethics is begun by a committee of the American Bar Association composed of Chief Justice Taft of the United States Supreme Court, Chief Justice Cornish of Maine, Chief Justice Vonnoschzisker of Pennsylvania, Garret W. McEnerney of San Francisco, and Charles A. Boston of New York; the judicial code of ethics will follow the lines of the Canons of Legal Ethics adopted by the Association in 1908 as a standard for practising lawyers.

OBITUARY

October 16.—Edwin H. Vare, Republican political "boss" of Philadelphia, 60. . . . Henry Goodyear Day, well-known Connecticut lawyer, 52.

October 18.—Keene H. Addington, prominent Chicago attorney who aided in drafting the Federal Reserve Banking act, 48.

October 20.—Baron Stephen Burian Von Rajecz, Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary (1914-1916, and 1918), 71.

October 22.—The Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, editor of the *Outlook*, lawyer, preacher, author, and editor, 86.

October 24.—George Cadbury, British social reformer and former publisher, 83.

October 25.—Lloyd Warren, noted architect, 52.

October 26.—Dr. George Chaffee, president of American Association of Railway Surgeons, 70.

October 27.—Rita Fornia (Newman), mezzo-soprano of the Metropolitan Opera, 44.

October 29.—George E. Dunham, editor of the *Utica (N. Y.) Daily Press*, 63.

October 31.—Father Bernard Vaughan, English Jesuit preacher and author, 75.

November 1.—Thomas Nelson Page, of Virginia, Ambassador to Italy 1913-1919, well-known author, 69. . . . Alva Adams, former Governor of Colorado (Dem.), 72. . . . Alfred Capus, editor of the *Paris Figaro*, noted novelist and journalist, 64. . . . Dr. Don J. Antonio Lopez Gutierrez, Honduran Minister to the United States, 72. . . . Prof. Robert Wheeler Wilson, astronomer.

November 2.—Thomas De Witt Cuyler, of Philadelphia, noted railroad and banking leader, 68. . . . Lucius E. Pinkham, former Governor of Hawaii, 72. . . . Eli Witwer Weaver, who sponsored a vocational-guidance system in the public schools of New York, 60. . . . Dr. Andrew Walker McAlester, emeritus dean of the Medical School of University of Missouri, 81.

November 3.—Charles R. Martin, of Tiffin, Ohio, a national labor leader, 66.

November 6.—Morgan Gardner Bulkeley, life insurance president, former Governor of Connecticut, and one-time United States Senator, 85. . . . Florence Mix, portrait and landscape artist, 41. . . . Dr. Carl von Ruck, of Asheville, N. C., noted tuberculosis specialist, 73.

November 7.—Jacob Gimbel, proprietor (with his brothers) of department stores in New York, Philadelphia, and Milwaukee, 72.

November 8.—Frank S. Gannon, railroad executive, 71. . . . Arthur Alberto de Campos Henriques, former Portuguese Premier.

November 11.—Chester W. Chapin, railroad and steamship organizer, 80. . . . Judge John Emmett Carland, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, 68.

AMERICAN AND BRITISH POLITICS IN CARTOONS



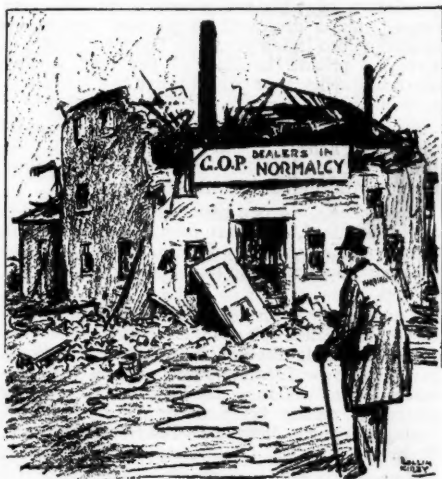
HARMONY IN THE NEW SENATE

[LaFollette, Brookhart, Frazier, and Borah may all belong to the Republican church—but they don't use the same hymn book!]
From *Collier's* (New York)



WHO GREASED THOSE STEPS?

From the *Ledger* (Tacoma, Wash.)



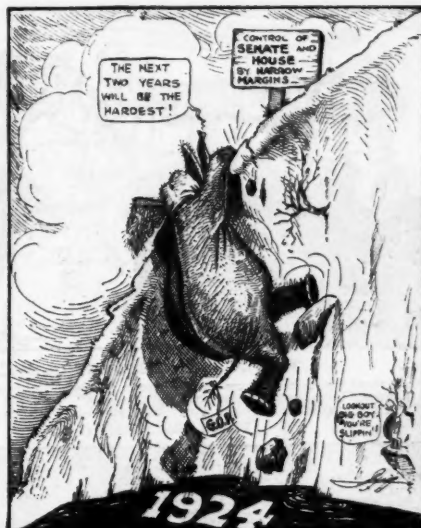
AFTER THE ELECTION

From *The World* (New York)

[A Democratic view of the Election results as they related to the national policies of President Harding]



A CASE FOR CAREFUL DIAGNOSIS
From the Tribune © (New York)



STILL ON TOP—BUT SLIPPING

From the Constitution (Atlanta, Ga.)

[This Southern journal looks ahead two years to 1924, after a period of slim Republican majorities in the Congress.]



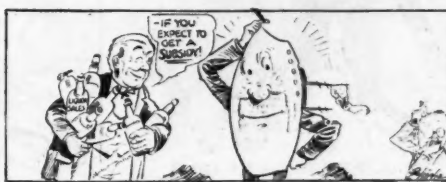
MAYBE HE WILL BE A BETTER BOY NOW
From the Pioneer Press (St. Paul, Minnesota)



MAKING HAY BEFORE THE SUN SETS!
From the Evening World © (New York)



NO LIQUOR ON AMERICAN SHIPS—IF THEY EXPECT TO GET A SUBSIDY
From the Tribune (Sioux City, Iowa)





THE DOWNING STREET CLINIC

LYDD GEORGE: "These three—Russia, Germany, Greece—I've done all I can for them, but they go from bad to worse."

DR. JOHN BULL: "Thank you. (Sotto voce) I will change the nurse."

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)



WELCOME, LLOYD GEORGE!

[SCENE: The garden gate of the infirmary for Broken Idols]
PRESIDENT WILSON and M. CLEMENCEAU: "We have been waiting for you for three years!"

From *Ere Nouvelle* (Paris, France)



ADRIFT, AFTER THE STORM

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



"DON'T BE AFRAID, DEAR, THE BOGYMAN HAS GONE"

From *Œuvre* (Paris, France)

[John Bull and the French Marianne are reassuring Peace, after Lloyd George's fall]



THE OLD WARRIOR UNARMS

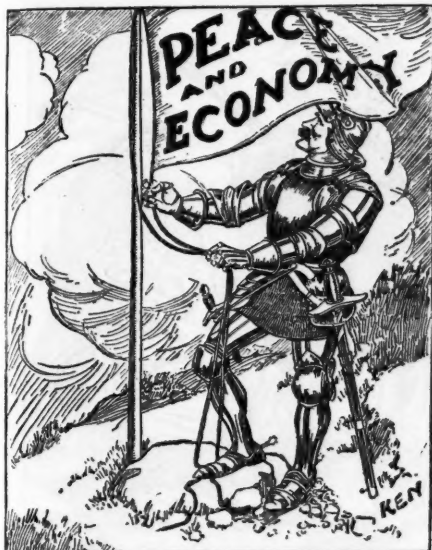
("Unarm, Eros, the long day's task is done.")—SHAKESPEARE

From the *Evening Times* (Glasgow, Scotland)



DROPPING THE PILOT

From the *Mercury & News* (Birmingham, England)



THE VICTORIOUS BANNER OF BONAR LAW

From the People (London, England)

[The ministry of David Lloyd George—which had lasted through war and peace for six years—came to an end on October 19, and Andrew Bonar Law became Prime Minister by invitation of the King. Elections for a new Parliament were held on November 15]



BONAR LAW AS CABINET-MAKER

["But good material is scarce nowadays"]
From the Mercury (Birmingham, England)



HOLDING DOWN THE LID

LLOYD GEORGE: "Not such a restful job as it looked, is it, Bonar?"



CLEANING UP THE COALITION MESS

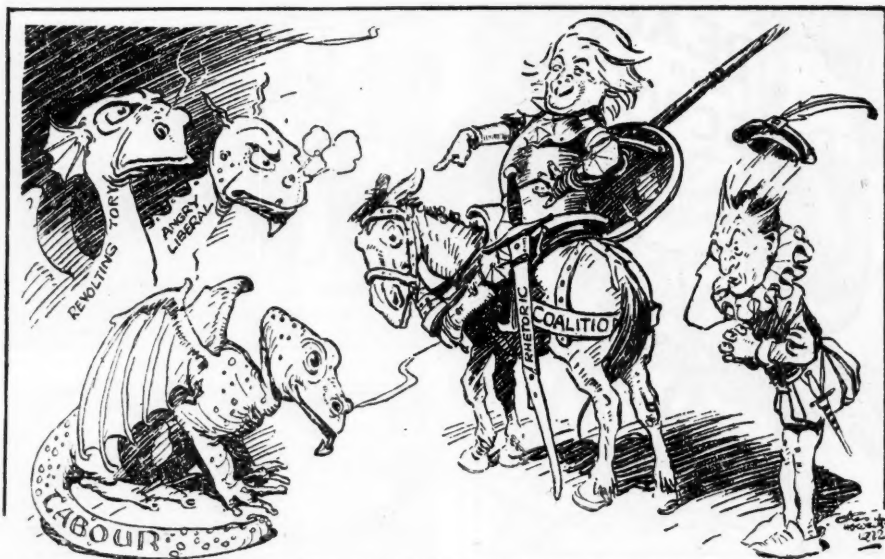
From the Passing Show (London, England)



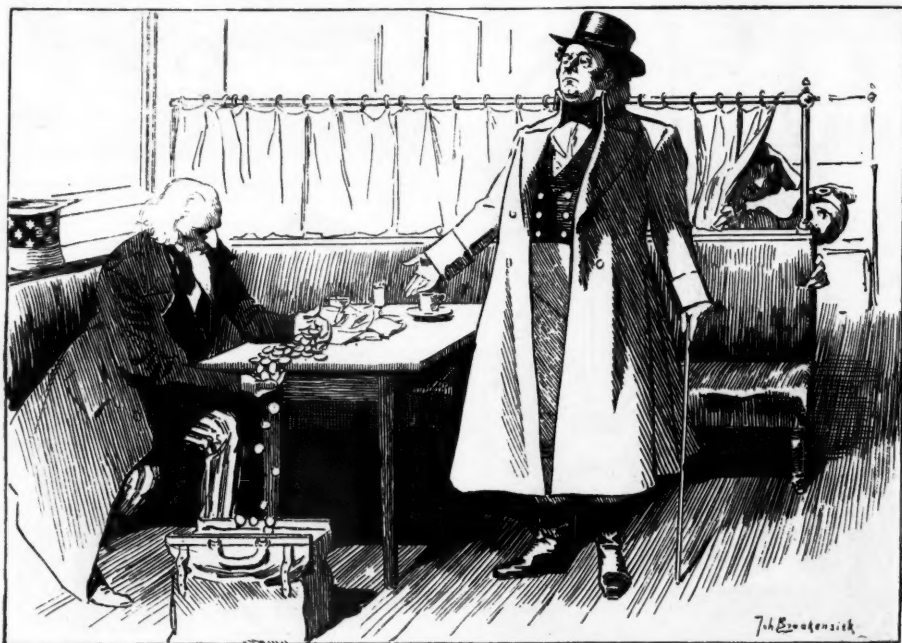
SPOILING HER CHANCES

MR. BOLSHEVIST: "So you won't jazz with me again!"
MISS LABOR: "Certainly not. You've done enough damage to my frock already."
(The Labor parties of Europe are following the example of the British Labor party, and turning more and more definitely from Bolshevism—Cable)

From the Bulletin (Sydney, Australia)



DAVID LLOYD ST. GEORGE SELECTS HIS DRAGON

From the *Mercury & News* (Sheffield, England)

JOHN BULL MAKES THE FIRST INTEREST PAYMENT TO COUSIN JONATHAN

From the *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

[This Dutch journal quotes a cable dispatch from the *New York Herald* characterizing the payment of \$50,000,000 interest on the debt to America as an act of financial heroism that has never been excelled by a people. France and Italy, behind the curtain, are represented as expressing the hope that the financial hero will not in turn expect heroic deeds of them]



UNCLE SAM'S LITTLE JOKE

JOHN BULL: "Search me on the high seas? Quit your 'poofin', Sam, old top, or me bloomin' sides will burst with laughin'."

From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

[British newspapers are extremely cynical regarding what seems to them to be an effort by American "drys" to spread their influence in other sections of the globe]



"SAY, NEP, I'M GOING TO MAKE YOU DRY"

From *Opinion* (London, England)



LLOYD GEORGE LOGIC

From *Pall Mall Gazette* (London, England)



AFTER THE FOUR YEARS OF CONFERENCE

FIRST DIPLOMAT: "At last I see the dawn of peace!"
SECOND DIPLOMAT: "You err; it is the burning of Smyrna."

From *De Nolenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE EUROPEAN HOSPITAL

PEACE (entering with the crippled League of Nations):
"If Turkey is the sick man, what shall we call the others?"

From *Sondags Nisse* (Stockholm, Sweden)

POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS AT LONDON AND ROME

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE FALL OF LLOYD GEORGE

A MONTH ago I closed my article when the Turks were at the Straits, and the whole world was watching with apprehension one of the most amazing spectacles of a decade which has been replete with wonders. In the four weeks which have since elapsed, two revolutions—both of them political—have occurred. These two revolutions open the widest conceivable horizons in world affairs. Moreover, even though the fall of Lloyd George, and the arrival of Mr. Bonar Law, were results of the operation of ordinary political machinery in the British Isles, nevertheless the circumstances which surrounded the event were sufficiently dramatic. At the same time, the elevation of Mussolini to power in Italy, following the capture of the Eternal City by the Black Shirts, is an exploit which recalls nothing in Modern History unless it be the fantastic deeds of the Red Shirts who followed Garibaldi to a popular triumph more than half a century ago.

In the present article, therefore, I shall confine my attention mainly to the events in London and Rome. It is obviously necessary, however, to cast a glance at Constantinople, where despite the lull following the signing of the Armistice of Mudania, and the exorcising of the war devils, events of utmost importance have taken place.

Turning then to the British situation, I think no one will question the statement frequently made in recent days that since the Kaiser dismissed Bismarck under conditions lately recalled by the publication of the ex-Emperor's Memoirs, the retirement of no public man has had equal meaning to the whole world.

To begin at the beginning, why did Lloyd George fall? Certainly he does not give way to a man of comparable stature. Yet, after all, this was the case with President

Wilson and with M. Clemenceau, George's great colleagues at Paris. Such, indeed, was the situation in the case of Orlando, the other member of the Big Four; for even if Orlando was a less significant figure than his three colleagues, no successor in Italian leadership up to the arrival of Mussolini has attracted the world's attention to Italian interests.

It is the conviction in Europe that Mr. Wilson was the victim of domestic political jealousies. It is the conviction in America and in Europe, outside of France, that the same was true in M. Clemenceau's case. It is only natural, therefore, that the fall of George should lead to identical reasoning now. Yet it seems to me that in all three instances the explanation goes far deeper. All three were in a very real sense supermen. They exercised power to an extent rarely paralleled in recent history. And since France, Great Britain and the United States, despite many differences, are democracies—however much they may yield to a necessary despotism in times of great national stress—they are bound to react, when the crisis is past and the despot remains. And I use the word despot in no unpleasant sense, for—save for the despotism of Clemenceau and Lloyd George—I believe the World War would have been lost. And it is fair to say that, whatever else it thinks of Mr. Wilson, Europe believes that it was his impulse which pushed our masses across the ocean in time to save a situation compromised by the Allied defeats of the spring of 1918.

But it was and is the view of France that M. Clemenceau, having won the War, lost the Peace. Now when one comes to examine the case of Lloyd George what are the facts? Under his leadership a treaty was made at Paris which was well-nigh fatal to British interests, because by imposing too great burdens upon Germany it brought economic paralysis, not alone to Germany

but even more to Britain—a paralysis measured by the frightful extent and continuance of British unemployment to the present time.

Having made this treaty in close association with the French and in the face of American opposition, Lloyd George then attempted to abolish the evil consequences by coercing the French into agreeing to a sweeping and one-sided revision of the Treaty of Versailles, which placed all the burden of sacrifice upon the French, and at the same time refused them that degree of compensation which was comprehended in a treaty guaranteeing them against any new German attack.

The result was not any useful revision of the Treaty of Versailles, but a perpetuation of paralysis, and the slow but sure destruction of the Anglo-French Entente, with consequences fully revealed in the recent Near Eastern conflict. By his Russian policy, Lloyd George alienated not only the Poles, who were already angered by his subordination of their interests to Germany, but also the Rumanians and the Czechoslovakians, both necessarily apprehensive as to Russian dangers. As a consequence, when the Genoa Conference assembled, France, Poland and the Little Entente, Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia were united, while Belgium also followed French lead.

Finally, both in the matter of Allied debts and of his pro-Greek policy, Lloyd George alienated Italy, which had long been his one certain ally in the European conferences. This same pro-Greek policy not only roused the Turk to successful resistance, culminating in the recent return of the Osmanli to Europe, but also profoundly weakened British hold on vast Mohammedan populations from Egypt to India. Forced in the end to abandon Greece, George not only gave Athens sound reason to believe itself betrayed, but made it wholly unlikely that any small power would soon again risk its existence on the assurance of British support in the event of a strong neighbor's aggressions.

Nor, on the whole, has George's American policy been more successful. For, in the first instance, his manifest championship of the Wilson cause aroused bitter resentment in Republican circles. And if this bitterness was temporarily allayed by British performance at the Washington Conference, the Georgian attitude toward Soviet Russia

and, later, the Georgian maneuver revealed in the Balfour Note, revived American distrust and even for a time aroused American indignation.

In Ireland, first acting under Tory pressure, Lloyd George consented to a repression which since the days of Cromwell has hardly been equaled in all Anglo-Irish history in its ruthlessness; and when this repression had led to open war, he surrendered to the Irish on terms which instantly alienated all of his Tory supporters—even as many of his Liberal adherents had been alienated by the period of "Black and Tan" raids. Moreover, this settlement which was finally reached failed to bring peace, because of the passions which the period of repression had released.

If you consider—and it is necessarily the test—the Georgian record since Armistice in the light of the present posture of Britain before the world, and the present state of her imperial and domestic affairs, it is manifest that (1) abroad her isolation is complete; while (2) at home conditions in the United Kingdom are still gravely disturbing; (3) within the Empire the Moslem unrest presents exceedingly uncomfortable prospects. And it was with just these things in mind that Mr. Bonar Law, at the Carlton Club Conference, settled the fate of the Coalition Ministry by his declaration that rightly or wrongly Lloyd George had lost the confidence of the country.

No intrigue within the Coalition, none within the Tory Party, no personal resentments such as Mr. Asquith obviously discloses, could possibly have led to the overthrow of Lloyd George. His downfall was due solely to the long series of disasters of which Genoa was a type and the Turkish episode only the climax. In the Georgian drama, to go back to Napoleon's campaigns, Genoa was Moscow and the Near Eastern debacle Waterloo.

A man without a party, in the sense that the Liberal party, his own, had split when he came to office, Lloyd George's main support came from the Tories. His claim—his single claim—to survival in office was that he was the necessary, the indispensable man; and recent events have seemed to give the lie to this claim. Therefore Lloyd George fell, like Clemenceau before him, his war services still recognized as an enduring claim upon national gratitude, but not as a warrant for permanent tenure of office in time of peace.

II. BRITISH POLITICS

Turning now to the political aspect of the situation, the story of George's overthrow can be briefly told. He returned to office following the Khaki Election of December, 1918, in which the Coalition was swept into power by a nation eager to show its gratitude to the man who had won the war from the British standpoint. The victory was not partisan but personal. Yet, in the nature of things, the majority of the members chosen belonged to the Tory party, which before the war had bitterly opposed Lloyd George, then one of Mr. Asquith's able lieutenants in the Liberal party.

As to the Liberal party, although a majority had rallied to George, a minority remained faithful to Asquith and it was certain that this minority would grow, for while most Liberals concurred in the succession of George to Asquith, not a few felt that the game had been played unfairly. The Liberal party was thus divided at the outset, while the third great party, patently destined to increase most rapidly, namely, Labor, was equally hostile to Tory and Liberal and followed its own flag without reference to either.

But if George were permanently to dominate British politics, his problem was patent. He must have a party of his own, for a time was bound to come when the Tories would tire of following a Liberal whom they had long classed as an extreme Radical, while there was every likelihood that his Liberal following would diminish rather than increase, and could in no event acquire strength sufficient to carry a general election.

To create a party of his own George was obliged (while holding the Liberals who had followed him) to detach sufficient Conservatives to make a formidable support, and in the existing situation this party would be a center party, more progressive than the Tory, more conservative than the radical Liberals—what we in our political phraseology would describe as a middle-of-the-road party.

Plainly, however, such a process would be resisted by the Tory party, which had not the least desire to be broken up. It owed its return to power to George. He was obviously, in December, 1918, and for many months thereafter, stronger than any party, Tory, Liberal or Labor, stronger

perhaps than all three combined. Yet since the Liberal party machine was still in Asquith's hands, and the Tory machine remained in Tory hands, a day was bound to come when party habits would be resumed and when George would be left at one side, if he had not in the meantime created his own party.

All things considered, this is just what George with all his cleverness did not succeed in doing. With the beginning of the present year his fortunes reached a crisis. The Parliament which existed had still several years before it, but it was obviously no longer representative of the country. It had been elected in the moment of victory, and it represented an emotional and transitory mood. By-election after by-election disclosed a changing of popular sentiment.

Yet George still remained popular, and was still regarded as the necessary man. Accordingly he proposed that there should be a general election last February. His calculation was that his popularity would still avail to carry through a Coalition majority, and that this majority, like that in the existing House of Commons, would be dependent upon him so that he would thus have at least four more years, possibly six, in which to carry out his ambitious plan of creating a center party.

The moment was promising, too; for the Irish settlement still seemed a real settlement, while the Washington Conference undeniably put Anglo-American relations in a better position than they had perhaps ever occupied. With the Genoa Conference already in view, George proposed that there should be a general election. On the strength of having settled the Irish question and improved American relations, as well as on the strength of his war services still unforgotten, he would ask a mandate to go to Genoa and settle the European question.

Perhaps some of my readers will recall that, writing from London last March, I described what happened when George made his proposal. There was a sudden, unexpected, but very widespread revolt amongst the Tories. Most of the leaders, Lord Balfour, Lord Birkenhead and Austen Chamberlain, were prepared to follow the Prime Minister; but the party machine, headed by Sir George Younger, emphatically vetoed the proposal for a general election. Despite George's efforts, which went,

to the length of a threat to resign, they blocked the program. As it turned out, the result was that Lloyd George missed the tide. No equally favorable moment for a general election was thereafter discoverable.

The reason for the Tory revolt was instantly apparent. The party members perceived that in the long run George must either divide the party, join it, or fall. But to join it would cost him his personal support, which was very great outside of the Conservative ranks, and would put him under party control. Therefore it was obvious that he must strive to split the party, as he had already striven successfully to split the Liberal party; and this was precisely what the rank and file of the party were unwilling to see happen.

The February revolt disclosed the fact that the rank and file of the Tory party preferred party solidarity to a further lease of power, such as the Coalition would have obtained in a new election. And it was also demonstrated that there was very strong hostility to George in that party which supplied him with the most of his votes, and without which he could not retain office for a single day. On the surface the February quarrel was adjusted; but in reality it was only adjourned till a new crisis should arise.

After February, George's position became even more difficult. He had now more than ever to seek by successes, particularly successes in the foreign field, to consolidate his position at home and thus by increasing his personal prestige to coerce his Tory supporters into further subservience. From February to October, this had been the underlying secret of George's policy. He had to win victories everywhere, above all he had to make of the Genoa Conference, which was the real test, such a success that his Tory opponents would be compelled to abandon their opposition in the face of a national sentiment created by a new achievement.

Unhappily for George, however, success abroad was no longer possible. Briand had given way to Poincaré, and Poincaré resolutely refused to follow Georgian wishes. On the contrary, he stayed away from Genoa, and from a distance he dealt the Conference fatal blows. Moreover, George had already lost his European following, only Italy remaining faithful; but Italian support was not sufficient when Belgium,

Poland and the Little Entente joined France. The Russo-German bargain of Rapallo awakened alarm at home and abroad. Almost as fatal was Mr. Hughes' Note of blunt refusal to attend the Conference, and the unmistakable evidence that the United States viewed George's Russian flirtations with pronounced disapprobation.

Looking back upon Genoa and recalling the desperate efforts Lloyd George made to save it, and remembering the savage attacks which he and his supporters launched at France, and at Benes (Premier of Czechoslovakia and leader of the Little Entente), it is plain that George was then aware of the crucial situation, and that his personal fortunes were even more at stake than the peace of Europe. Nevertheless, Genoa was a failure; and the later gathering at The Hague did no more than supply a final proof of this failure. Thereafter the *degringolade* began.

In the spring, after the Tory revolt, Lloyd George patently needed a shining success. He had to find something that would enable him to compel the recalcitrant Tories to bow to his will and consent to a general election. In the summer, after the Genoa fiasco, it was clear that what the Tory rebels needed was a new and signal Georgian disaster, to enable them to come into the open and throw him out of office. George, on the other hand, was condemned to seek even more desperately some reversal of fortune which should restore his lost prestige. Thus, for both sides, the Near Eastern affair which had been developing since the March Conference in Paris, became the test.

When, moreover, the Near Eastern affair had become a British disaster, and war with Turkey and limitless troubles in Moslem regions of the Empire seemed hardly to be escaped, it was inevitable that the Tories should seize that opportunity for which they had long waited. Their leaders, Lord Balfour, Lord Birkenhead and Austen Chamberlain, might remain loyal to the chief; but the rank and file of the Tory party, now joined by Mr. Bonar Law, whose accession was decisive, struck as they were bound to strike, and the Coalition government fell with a suddenness at the last which took everyone by surprise. But this very suddenness demonstrated how completely the entire structure had been undermined.

III. THE CONSEQUENCES

What will be the consequences for the world of the fall of the last surviving War Premier? Obviously the answer to this question must await the outcome of the British election, which will be known just as this article goes to press. To judge from the outside appearance of the campaign, however, confusing as it is, there is little likelihood that the result will bring an immediate return of Lloyd George to power.

The shrewdest observers in England seem agreed that while no one party is certain to obtain a clear majority of the seats in the House of Commons, the largest single block will go to the Tories and this will be almost if not quite large enough to enable them to retain office. The second largest group is with equal certainty assigned to the Labor party although the Labor disasters in the early November municipal elections had led to a marking down of Labor prospects. The relative strength of the two factions of the Liberal party, (1) the Coalitionists following George, and (2) the Independents following Asquith, had remained open to debate.

If the Tories should not have gained a clear majority, they will have to make some kind of a bargain either with the George or the Asquith Liberals. If they agree with the former, George will certainly have to be recognized. But even then, it is unlikely that he will be returned to Downing Street, for this would instantly split the Tory party and thus bring chaos. A coalition between the Tories and the Asquith Liberals is not impossible, and this would get rid of the problem of Lloyd George, for the moment.

That Lloyd George is permanently out of power seems unlikely. He is too able a politician, too commanding a figure. And unlike Mr. Wilson his health remains unimpaired, while he is not, like M. Clemenceau, a very old man. He has made a mess of foreign affairs, and foreign affairs at the moment are the most important, outweighing either domestic or imperial questions in the British mind. But it was in domestic affairs that George first earned his place in British politics, and through them he may well return to office in a relatively short time. At best it would seem that a Tory government, even if it wins the present election, can hardly last very long,

in view of the rapidly moving events in the United Kingdom.

But assuming that George will not be returned to office at once (and it is a reasonable assumption), it seems to me that the first and most important result of his fall will be the automatic restoration of the possibility of an Anglo-French coöperation. This coöperation was no longer possible while George retained office, because of the enormous distrust felt for him in France. The same distrust, too, weakened the whole British situation on the Continent.

The question of reparations and of inter-allied debts must come up within a very short time. Since there is no longer any hope of German payments, Germany having deliberately failed to comply with the conditions under which she was allowed what amounted to a moratorium for the balance of the present year, France will be free to act as she may see fit.

On the other hand, France does not want to act in such manner as seemed to her leaders desirable a few months ago. While Anglo-French difficulties have multiplied, and no understanding was possible while George remained, there has been an obvious increase in the strength and influence of the Frenchmen who desire to see sound Anglo-French friendship restored. Bonar Law's accession to power makes such restoration possible. Most of the British friends of France are Tories; and one of the bitterest criticisms leveled against George was that he had wrecked the Entente.

A general settlement of Anglo-French differences, of reparations, of debts, and of Mediterranean policies, would be the greatest contribution to world stability which it is possible to conceive of. Such a liquidation was not possible under Lloyd George, and the result has been a steady worsening not alone of Anglo-French relations but of world conditions. Bonar Law is a quiet, steady business man, the antithesis of Lloyd George in all respects, whose methods and manner alike inspire confidence.

It is patent that there must be a general overhauling of the whole Paris settlement so far as reparations are concerned. It is equally clear that there must be some disposition of the inter-allied debts. I am leaving the American claims out of the discussion. France will unquestionably offer to reduce reparations, but she will ask a British guarantee not alone against a later German attack, but that Britain will

assist or at least permit France to collect what is recognized as fair and possible. She will, also, ask that in proportion as she wipes off her claims against Germany, Britain will extinguish French debts. And the same request for cancellation will come from Italy and from Belgium.

If Bonar Law should continue in office, it would be reasonable to expect that we shall have a period of calm, that there will be no brilliance and that any international conference will be conducted rather with an eye to the business in hand than to the domestic or international opportunities to score off an opponent. In dealing with France, Bonar Law will doubtless disclose Scotch characteristics which are traditional; but if he drives a hard bargain he may be expected to stand by it, which was what never could be expected of Lloyd George as Premier.

The passing of Lloyd George may well be followed by that of Poincaré. The ex-President's supreme merit lay in the fact that he was the one Frenchman who would stand up to George and resist his blandishments. But with George gone, in part at least because of the Poincaré policy, it may easily be that the French will turn to some one who is less rigid, and less completely committed to a program which now seems impossible. If Lloyd George was tied by his responsibilities for the Treaty of Versailles, Poincaré is not less bound by his criticisms of the makers of the document, and of those who later tried to put it in operation.

Forecast is of course idle; but at least it would seem that the coming of Mr. Bonar Law makes possible a general readjustment of Anglo-French relations. Without this readjustment, the outlook is bleak in the extreme and we are condemned to see new disasters like the recent Near Eastern affair, the direct consequence of the rivalries of two nations whose complete coöperation is the first essential to the reconstruction of Europe.

As far as the United States is concerned, the succession of Mr. Bonar Law can have no great importance, because no matter who is Prime Minister, British policy will inevitably aim at the maintenance of friendly relations and the realization of the largest possible coöperation. This is one circumstance which will not be affected by any turn in domestic politics within the United Kingdom.

IV. FASCISM IN ITALY

Turning now to the Italian problem the elements in the situation are so many, so diverse and so complicated that all explanation seems well-nigh impossible, and at the outset I should like to refer my readers to the article of my friend Leonardo Vitetti, published in the October number of this magazine, which is the most satisfying summary I have anywhere seen.

Fascism represents a reaction, a reaction against a state of mind which existed in Italy after the war, as a consequence of the very bitter disillusionment which both the progress of the war and the character of the peace terms had for the Italian people. The war had been brought about, so far as Italian participation was concerned, by those Italian Nationalists whom we used to describe in the days of the Libyan War as the Young Italy party.

This Young Italy looked with disgust upon the fact that Italy, while in population a great power and in history the heir of the Romans, had been condemned to play a wholly insignificant part since her unification. They saw France spreading over all of North Africa, they saw Germany, at that time growing more and more influential, and they saw Italy, gathering neither colonies nor strength anywhere.

The Libyan War was the first expression of this new nationalist spirit. The World War offered a second opportunity. The elder statesmen, men of the type of Giolitti, urged Italian neutrality and advised that Italy take such compensation as could be wrung from Austria, the Trentino certainly, Trieste perhaps, Albania in any event. But Young Italy saw in the world a nobler and a greater rôle for Italy than that of collecting *pourboires* or blackmail. They saw that at the end of the war the map of Europe would be remade and they desired that Italy should sit at the victors' table as a full partner.

But once Italy had entered the war, it turned out to be a long struggle. The collapse of Russia changed the whole situation and Italy had to suffer defeat and invasion. A terrific strain was put upon the whole Italian structure. Moreover, once the war was over and the Paris Conference had assembled, it became clear that Italian claims, based upon half a million dead upon the battlefield, were to have scant consideration.

The Treaty of 1915, one of the famous secret treaties, which contained the Allied promises to Italy, if she came in on the Entente side, allotted Dalmatia in Europe and Smyrna in Asia to the Italians. But in Paris Italian claims to Dalmatia were not heeded, while the demand for the Italian city of Fiume provoked the action of Mr. Wilson in appealing over the head of Orlando to the Italian people. As for Smyrna, Greek troops were sent to occupy that city to forestall the Italians.

When all the peace treaties had been made Italy had found her reward in the acquisition of the Trentino, Trieste and Istria, with a frontier at the Brenner, thus giving her at last the control of the doorways to her own country; but she had not received Fiume and in place of the fallen Austrian Empire there had arisen a strong young Slav state, which from the outset blocked Italian influence in Central Europe and was a frank rival in the Adriatic.

In the new Yugoslavia were included the Croatian and Slovenian provinces of the old Hapsburg Monarchy which had supplied the larger part of the troops who had fought Italy on the Isonzo for more than three years. Moreover, while the Croats demanded Fiume, the Slovenians insisted upon Gorizia and Trieste. Thus Italy had freed herself from an historic enemy only to find in its place a new and perhaps more dangerous foe, for while the Hapsburg Empire was long visibly decaying, the new Slav state showed many signs of enduring vitality.

In the Adriatic, then, Italy found the Slavs, backed by Europe and America, rising to dispute her mastery, while in the Egean and in Asia Minor the Greeks were backed by the British in their demands for those territories which Italy had marked out for her own and, in most cases, had received pledges of ultimate possession from France and Great Britain. Moreover, while France obtained Syria and Great Britain Mesopotamia and Palestine, and Greece laid hold upon Smyrna and a vast and rich hinterland, the Italian gains were confined to a narrow region about the Gulf of Adalia.

It is hardly to be wondered at, then, that for a moment the mass of the Italian people turned upon their leaders. Bolshevism was abroad in the world; exhaustion and disappointment were unmistakable in the Peninsula. We had then the rapid passing over of Italy to the Socialist camp and a

long series of episodes which culminated in the forcible seizure of many plants by the workmen, while the government, helpless and foreseeing that opposition would mean revolution, held its hands.

A similar uprising took place in Hungary early in 1919, when Bela Kun came to power and the Red Terror flourished in Budapest. Indeed it is almost always the case that defeat in war, when defeat is accompanied by great strain and misery, leads to some such upheaval. And remember that if Italy had been one of the victors in the war, she felt herself not wholly inaccurately one of the victims of the peace. Indeed the fact that she felt betrayed by her allies contributed to producing the Socialist episode, which was on the whole attended with a minimum of disorder.

But in Italy, by contrast with Russia, patriotism in the end reacted against the Socialistic régime. When the emotional stress was over, the mass of the people returned to their natural patriotic mood. By degrees there was a reaction to that Young Italian cult which had made the war and aimed at making Italy a world power in her own right, recognized as an equal by the other great powers.

In the existing political parties and leaders this spirit found no expression or master. It sought a strong government which should abolish disorder at home—disorder such as had culminated in the Socialist seizure of private property. It desired a vigorous foreign policy which should assert Italian rights and aspirations in the world at large, and so, after many experiments with cabinets (there have been four in recent months), this new spirit, this Fascism, which had been organizing all over Italy, suddenly sprang to arms, swept all opposition from its pathway, captured Rome and sent its leader Mussolini to the King, who had wisely intervened to prevent resistance by the organized government, which would have meant civil war.

So we have a Prime Minister chosen by a *coup d'état*, the seizure of Rome and of the machinery of Italian government by a band of Black Shirts, and, what is the more amazing, we have the country accepting a Fascist ministry, called to power by the King himself. What the immediate or the ultimate consequences of this revolution may be in the domestic field can only be forecast, if at all, by an Italian. For the ordinary citizen, for the foreigner watching

from afar, the main fact is that Italy, having passed through a Socialist and extreme radical phase, has reacted to an equally violent national and conservative phase, and those who would save the state have seized power by methods which we are more familiar with, when employed by reds than by blacks. The country at large, disgusted with the failure of the ordinary machinery and the conventional leaders, has acquiesced in the new experiment.

V. THE FOREIGN ASPECT

When, however, one turns to the foreign aspect of this Italian revolution, there is no mistaking the fact that if the coming of Bonar Law in Britain promises peace, there is an ominous threat of war in the arrival of Mussolini. For the underlying principle of the Fascisti is Italian expansion. D'Annunzio, one of its high priests, exemplified this in his Fiume performance.

Moreover, we have had many expressions of Fascisti conceptions. The more extreme urge the acquisition of Corsica from France, Malta from Great Britain, and the Canton of Ticino from Switzerland, while even more moderate spokesmen demand the acquisition of Tunis, which can only be taken from France by war. The recent ministries have been friendly with Britain and on the whole hostile to France, but the Fascisti are equally determined to proceed against both, where they lie across the pathway of Italian expansion. We have then to fear troubles between France and Italy and between Britain and Italy, although it is fair to say that one may doubt if Mussolini in power will be guilty of such unutterable folly as serious quarrels with either of these countries would be.

In any event the real danger at the moment is toward the East, not the West. Italy and Yugoslavia compromised their quarrels growing out of Fiume and Dalmatia by the Treaty of Rapallo. Both Count Sforza and Signor Nitti, who held office then, were able to carry through a policy of compromise rather than conflict with the Slavs. But unfortunately Italy has not lived up to the terms of the agreement and has so far failed to evacuate certain territories assigned to the Jugoslavs by that treaty.

But now the Fascisti have come to power with the avowed purpose of regaining Dalmatia, of adopting a strong policy

toward Yugoslavia—and a strong policy means war, for Yugoslavia has a powerful army, well equipped and carefully trained by French officers. Moreover, trouble between Italy and Yugoslavia would inevitably mean action by Bulgaria and Hungary, both of which have had to surrender territory to the Serbs. Action by Hungary, however, would bring in Czechoslovakia and Rumania, who are bound by treaty to support Yugoslavia and have also to fear Hungary. Intervention by Bulgaria would similarly bring in Rumania and would probably lead Greece to join, for she, too, is menaced by the Bulgarians.

Finally, one must never lose sight of the fact that the Turk might also be involved, as a consequence of his return to Europe and his standing feud with the Greek. But Rumania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia are all bound to France by definite understanding and the French would be gravely embarrassed in case of an Italian war with Yugoslavia. Poland, too, is a party to many agreements alike with France and with the Succession States.

If Italy embarks upon a strong foreign policy which leads to trouble with Yugoslavia, it is almost beyond the power of anyone to calculate the number of possible complications. And it is almost impossible to see how the Fascisti, given their program and their promises, can avoid this trouble. Moreover, since Yugoslavia has domestic difficulties and all races and religions would join in a defense of their territory against the Italian, there is no temptation to the Jugoslavs to surrender without condition to Italian demands.

It is hard not to sympathize with the Italian point of view. In population Italy is a great power. Yet while her existence is locked up in the Mediterranean, this sea is dominated by British fleets from Gibraltar and Malta. She has an African tradition and waiting millions of potential colonists, but France holds all the North African territory available for colonization. From Venice Italy inherits a Near Eastern tradition, but in the Egean the British have backed the Greek against her, while Britain and France have divided the Arab lands of the Turk.

Finally, having entered the war to dispose of the hated Hapsburg enemy and having cherished the dream of exercising a predominant influence, commercial and political, in all of the Adriatic and Danubian

lands from Vienna to the Sulina Mouth, Italy finds French diplomacy supporting the construction of a Central European confederation, which would be far more formidable than the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and would have as its cardinal principle the exclusion of every state from influence in Middle Europe.

If you will look at the map you will see the apparent hopelessness of the Italian situation. Her northward expansion is barred by the Alps. Westward she encounters France from Mont Blanc to Nice, and again in Corsica and on all the African shores from Tunis to the Muluya River. On the opposite shore of the narrow Adriatic a new Slav state is rising, while Greece lies across her pathway in the Egean, backed by British influence. Her one poor African colony on the inland sea, Tripoli, is jammed in between Tunis and Egypt, the one protected by France, the other guaranteed by Britain, while her communications with it are watched by the British fleet at Malta and the French at Bizerta.

Nor is the economic situation much better. Italy has 40,000,000 of people—slightly more than France—living on a territory hardly more than half that of the Republic. She has neither the coal of Germany and Britain nor the iron and food of France. Her most valuable export is labor, and we in the United States have closed the door of the best market for this labor. Capital in the large sense Italy lacks; natural resources for foreign commerce are nonexistent. Moreover, the country is burdened alike by foreign and domestic debts, without any considerable foreign investments such as Britain and France have accumulated.

Yet in the face of all these disadvantages Italy is determined to be a world power and the realization of this dream is not any more improbable than was the achievement of liberation and unity a century ago. And despite her long history, Italy is in many respects a young country, revealing many of the virile characteristics of youth. The Tripolitan War, the World War and now the Fascisti uprising are adequate indications of Italian purpose.

Unhappily no Italian dream of expansion can be realized save as the result of collision with a great power, or at least with a considerable minor power, itself bound to a great power. Before the Greek collapse Italian expansion in the East was blocked

by Hellenic claims supported by British resources. With the restoration of the Turk, whom the Italians supported, the Italians expect better things, but even here they may well be disappointed by the new nationalistic spirit of the Turk himself. And the Turk for the moment considers the French and not the Italians his first friends, while in the end he may easily find his way back to his historic dependence upon the British.

In any event, it is manifest that Italy has reacted from her Socialistic mood, which had as one of its details a weak and wholly conciliatory policy under Nitti, to a violently nationalistic temper and in the field of foreign affairs this reaction awakens grave misgivings and opens new and not wholly reassuring horizons. Moreover, at the moment the center of interest must be on the Adriatic, where a collision with the Jugoslavs is henceforth, if not likely, at least an obvious possibility. And Italian co-operation with France and Great Britain becomes patently more difficult.

In sum, in that political disintegration which has been in progress ever since the Paris Conference the Fascisti upheaval is unmistakably a new step.

VI. THE TURKISH MESS

And now I have left only a very restricted space in which to deal with the Turkish situation. But in reality there is very little to be said. At Mudania the Western powers surrendered to Turkish demands in all respects save one. While Turkish occupation of Eastern Thrace to the Maritza River was conceded, time was allowed the Christian inhabitants to evacuate under the protection of Allied Troops. That time has now passed. In it we have had the pitiful spectacle of hundreds of thousands of fugitives flowing out of Thrace to escape the coming Turk.

One may question, however, if the net result of this period of delay will actually result in the saving of lives; for beyond all question many, many thousands of the refugees are doomed to die in the barren Macedonian plains to which they have fled and where already the first rigors of winter are at hand. How this vast population can be maintained during the winter, where it can be settled ultimately—these are problems which so far have no solution.

Meantime all eyes are turning toward

the forthcoming conference of Lausanne, where the Eastern Question is to have one more of those discussions which have dotted European history for a full century and have without exception ended in nothing of importance. The fact is that the Turk now has Thrace, as well as all of Asia Minor, and that his occupation of Constantinople following an Allied evacuation is only a matter of time, for he could only be excluded by a war, which no European power dreams of waging.

When he comes to Thrace the Turk will come as a victor, master in what was and is again his house. Territorially he has realized his demands. Now Europe must seek to get what it desires, if it can. But what does it desire? Nothing one may say at once which is to be had without the application of force, and Europe has already demonstrated that it would not employ force.

Mr. Hughes has just sent to the Allied powers the announcement that the United States will not formally participate in the Lausanne Conference, but will send unofficial observers. He has added a statement containing Seven Points which represent the things the United States believes should be agreed upon at the Conference. And it is no exaggeration to say that this statement has left Europe aghast.

For of the Seven Points at least three can be realized in fact only by war. First of all, Mr. Hughes insists upon the preservation of the capitulations, but these were abolished in 1914 and one of the cardinal principles of the victorious Angora Government is that they shall not be restored. By conferring extra-territoriality upon foreign residents, permitting them to escape the jurisdiction of Turkish courts, they constitute an infringement of the integrity of Turkish sovereignty and a reflection upon Turkish justice which, however deserved, is no less intolerable. Nor is it to be denied that they have supplied the basis of more than one intrigue expensive to the Turks themselves.

All Europe would like to see the capitulations preserved, but no European nation is ready to go to war to preserve them. American insistence upon this point, therefore, awakens astonishment, since the United States expressly indicates that it will not be a party to the negotiations nor responsible for the application of any treaty agreed upon. Nor is European surprise

less marked over a second point, that in which Mr. Hughes emphasizes the need of measures insuring the protection of minorities. For a century Europe has been endeavoring to get this protection insured, but so far it has failed. What can it hope from a victorious Turkey, led by able and determined nationalists?

There is just one wholly satisfactory way to assure the protection of minorities in Turkey and that is to partition the Ottoman Empire between the Christian states and then to compel the states taking shares to occupy, organize and police their respective portions. But this is exactly what the Treaty of Sèvres did. France, Italy, Greece and Great Britain were to take parts and at Paris it was hoped and expected the United States would accept an Armenian mandate. Now the Treaty of Sèvres is in the scrap heap, France and Italy have evacuated much Turkish Territory, Greece has been driven out and British evacuation is only a question of time. How then can the security of the Armenian remnant in the headwaters of the Euphrates and about Lake Van be established against the never ending threat of those Kurdish marauders who are themselves only in a measure under Turkish control?

Obviously, only through a hard-and-fast agreement to attack Turkey if there is any further slaughter, and by holding over the Turk so thick a club that he can never escape from its shadow. But who is ready to contribute to providing such a force as would be necessary? Certainly not the United States, certainly not France and Italy, who are eager to cultivate good relations with the Turk, certainly not Great Britain with her Mohammedan Question and her recent cabinet upset due to the Georgian policy in the Near East.

When one turns to the third important point—that respecting the Freedom of the Straits—one touches upon the same difficulties and further complications as well. How are you going to guarantee the freedom of the Straits, that is, in case of war when Turkey might desire to close them, as she did in 1914? Again, obviously only by force, but by what force? If the fortifications are demolished and Turkey lives up to a pledge not to occupy the hills and re-fortify them—an unthinkable thing—then control will pass to sea power and since the British are the dominant sea power in

Europe, British control of the Straits would be established automatically.

But it was to prevent British control at the Straits that France and Italy backed the Turk against the Greek and the issue was settled in the ultimate surrender of the British to Turkish possession of both sides of the Straits. Neither France nor Italy will, therefore, support Mr. Hughes' point, which in reality falls in admirably with the British program, but runs counter to that of the great Mediterranean powers. This was an issue of the war which was settled by the war and can hardly be revised at Lausanne.

The truth is that in all three cases the single result possible at Lausanne is the acquisition of paper guarantees precisely such as the Sublime Porte has given again and again without the smallest intention of observing them. All three proposals represent invasions of the sovereignty of a state which can only be made good by the use of force in the first instance and thereafter by the threat implicit in the preservation of a force and a will to use it at all times.

Already in demanding the elimination of the present Sultan, who accepted the Treaty of Sèvres and all its burdens including those represented by Mr. Hughes' Seven Points, Angora has given evidence of its temper. It goes to Lausanne to impose not to accept terms. It will agree to a paper establishing the Freedom of the Straits, but everyone knows in advance this will be mere eyewash. It will not agree to the capitulations nor to any useful guarantee of the minorities, for none is possible which does not open the way to outside interference in the domestic affairs of Turkey.

And since Europe is divided, France and Italy on one side and Britain on the other, although the British position is likely to be greatly modified now that Lloyd George has gone, and since the United States will not participate directly, the Turk has a clear road before him.

As I read these proofs on November 15, events have moved, the Turk has demanded that the Allied occupation of Constantinople be terminated, the Angora Government has taken over control from the Sultan. We have, then, at the precise moment a new tension. But by contrast we have for the

first time signs of a drawing together by Britain, France, and Italy. While the question was one between Greek control of the Straits with British backing and Turkish control, France and Italy backed the Turk.

But the situation is obviously changing—it is no longer Turk against Greek and thus against Britain, but it is Turk against all Western powers. The new danger menaces not only British predominance but French, Italian, and British safety in the Near East. Therefore, there are signs still inconclusive but significant of a reestablishment of the Entente.

If and when Europe speaks as a unit the Turk must bow or be beaten. His challenge at Chanak in October had been to Great Britain; but last month in Constantinople his challenge was to Europe. We shall now see if Europe can reassert itself.

In closing I should like to acknowledge the justice of the following criticism made by an anonymous but valued correspondent of mine. Referring to my last article in this magazine he writes:

You state that a British Prime Minister announced that whatever the issue of the strife (in 1912) no Turkish territory would be alienated. This is absolutely untrue. The British Prime Minister of that day announced that "whatever the issue of the strife the *status quo* would be maintained." It was firmly believed at the time in Britain and in Europe generally that the Balkan League would be beaten in battle by the Turks. The British statement was made to keep the *Turks* from following up their expected victory by seizing large portions of the Balkan states. You, as a close student of history, ought to know this fact of history. The way you state it in your article is an injustice to Great Britain.

As to the Prime Minister's statement my critic is, of course, right and I was in error. He is also correct in his assertion that Europe expected the Turks to win. My recollection was that the statement was intended not only to block the Turks but also to cool the ardor of the Balkan states by demonstrating that they had nothing to win by war. Such is still my impression, but I am writing away from the necessary reference books. In any event, I was guilty of an unintentional injustice which I am glad to correct and I do not question the accuracy of the whole statement of my correspondent, to whom I am grateful.

LEADERS AND PARTIES IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY P. W. WILSON

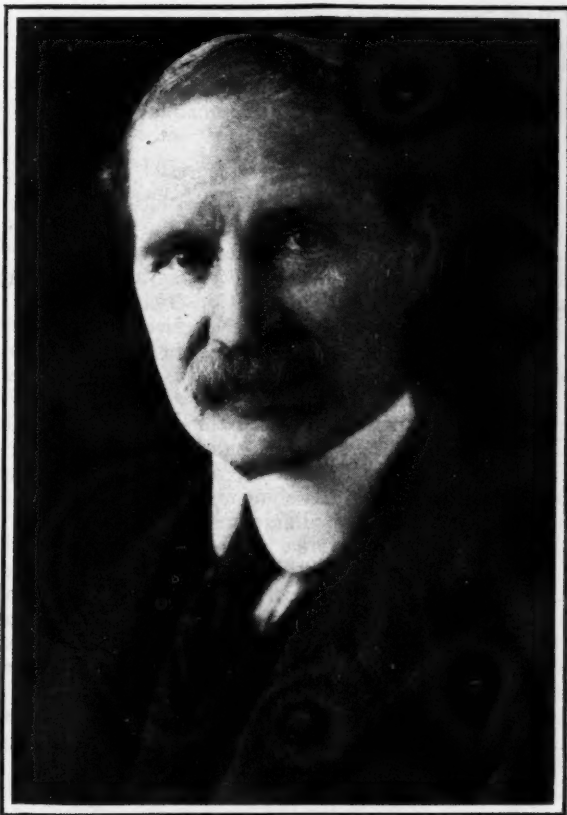
(New York Correspondent of the London Daily News)

IF WE would understand the chaos into which Britain has been plunged by the collapse of the Coalition and the selection of Andrew Bonar Law to succeed David Lloyd George as Prime Minister, we must glance for a moment at the historic background of the stage where the immediate drama is proceeding.

Since the days of Queen Anne, the British Parliament has been divided into two parties, as distinct as the Democrats and the Republicans; and it is this duality which has for the moment broken down, so exposing the country to the kind of government by groups which is to be seen in France and Italy. Amid the confusion, then, the real question is whether the Two Party System should or should not be restored.

If the British Empire is to continue, there must be a stable administration. By the Two Party System, such an administration was assured. If the "ins" became unpopular, there were the "outs" ever ready to take their place. So well recognized is this idea that it has been the custom to refer not only to "His Majesty's Government" but to "His Majesty's Opposition." A Cabinet in office has always been confronted by what has been called a "shadow Cabinet" which the King could summon to his assistance if necessary. Doubtless a section of one party would sometimes bolt. But the dissentients would always join the other party rather than form a new party of their own. It was thus that Peel

and Gladstone led the Conservative Free Traders into the Liberal fold eighty years ago. And it was thus that, in 1886, Joseph Chamberlain and John Bright, who disagreed with Gladstone over Home Rule, led the Liberal Unionists into the Conservative fold. In both of those cases, a party was split, but in both cases the Two Party System was preserved.



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RIGHT HON. ANDREW BONAR LAW, CONSERVATIVE, WHO
SUCCEEDED MR. LLOYD GEORGE AS PRIME MINISTER ON
OCTOBER 23

What, then, is the reason for this present disintegration? Let us trace the matter to its source. Originally, the two parties were Whig and Tory. The Whigs supported the dynasty now called the House of Windsor, while the Tories wanted the Stuarts back again, with their theory of the divine right of kings. As the franchise was broadened, real issues emerged, affecting the lives of the people; and the Whigs developed into Liberals, while the Tories called themselves Conservatives. The Liberals stood for free trade, for disestablishment, for non-sectarian schools, for temperance, and similar causes; while the Conservatives fought for the House of Lords, for the liquor trade, the church, denominational teaching at the public expense, protection, and a preservation of the land laws. Broadly speaking, these were the issues between the parties at any time from 1860 to 1914, when the war broke out. There was one complication, namely Ireland, which had her own independent Nationalists in the House of Commons, but this complication has been ended by the Irish Free Staters remaining in their own country.

The Conservatives and the Liquor Interests

It is not the Conservative party that has been shattered. Certain leaders, Earl Balfour, for instance, are at the moment standing by Lloyd George, but the party as a whole is intact. Whether the Conservatives can secure a majority in the House of Commons or not, they retain one war-chest, one caucus in London, and one caucus in each constituency. Some Conservatives may be content merely to keep things as they are, while others—the so-called Die-Hards—may clamor for tariffs, a strong second chamber, and laws against trade unions. But these are differences within the party which have not destroyed its unity. In any given constituency, there is no more than one Conservative candidate, and the Conservative elector can vote straight for his or her man. The cement which solidifies the Tories is, at the moment, beer. Menaced by the example of prohibition in the United States, the liquor trade in Britain, with its vast and varied organization, has established a brewer, Sir George Younger, as chief Conservative whip and has armed itself for the greatest domestic struggle ever foreshadowed in the old country. The Conservative party is thus still in being, and the sole question is as to

its size. In the election of 1906 the Conservatives were almost annihilated, coming back with only 158 members in a House of 570 members. But in 1910 they became once more a formidable party, winning 273 seats; while in December, 1918, they held 383 seats, or a clear majority of the House.

Growth of the Labor Party

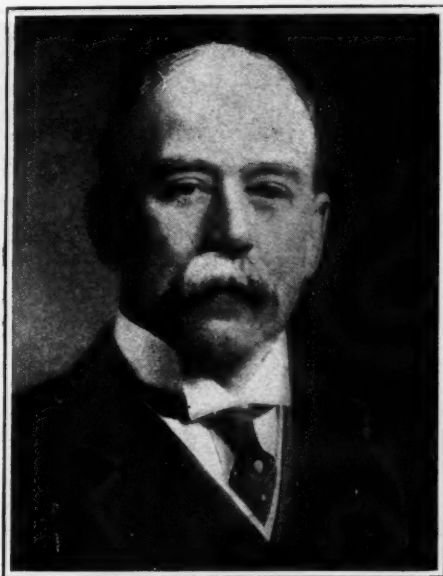
The trouble is not in the Conservative ranks, but among the progressive forces; and it began long before the war. Sixty years ago, British labor, especially in the mines, was slowly but surely organizing into trade unions. These unions desired to establish the collective bargain with capital, but from the first there was a desire to see the workingman in Parliament. There at Westminster were lawyers, bankers, brewers, landowners, bishops, shipping magnates, manufacturers, all busy over their respective interests; and why should not the wage-earner also have a place in politics? At first, the worker entered the House of Commons as an individual Liberal member. He was called a Lib-Lab, and he received the party whips like everyone else. Such a man was Thomas Burt, the Northumberland miner, who served in the Gladstone government of 1892, and such was John Burns, the engineer, who was President of the Local Government Board in the cabinets of Bannerman and of Asquith.

But in the ranks of Labor there were enthusiasts who were by no means satisfied with a subordinate voice in the counsels of the Liberal party. They saw how the Socialists had organized themselves in the German Reichstag. They also noted that the Irish Nationalists as an independent party refused both honors and offices. They decided that Labor must have a party like that. An "intellectual," called Ramsay Macdonald, with a keen Scottish mind, maneuvered the unions one by one into the position of supporting only those candidates for Parliament who would promise not to appear on the platform of any political party except Labor. In 1906 a compact body of about twenty-five such independents entered the House, and before the recent dissolution this number had grown to nearly seventy. With the elimination of the Lib-Labs, either by death or by political strategy, there have thus arisen three nation-wide political organizations instead of only two, namely Conservatives, Liberals, and Labor.

The results have been often unreal. In the Labor party, there are doubtless many men, more or less extreme, whose view of life differs widely, let us say, from that of a Liberal of aristocratic birth, like Viscount Grey. But the Syndicalists, as they were called, or "Reds," of a city like Glasgow were not so much opposed to Liberalism as to Parliamentary institutions of every kind. What they wanted was "direct action." And they were quite as much of an embarrassment to the Labor party as they were to the Liberals. Their weapon was not the vote but the strike. And their sympathies were with the Soviets. The real question has been why Arthur Henderson, who began his political education as a Liberal agent and is to be found nine times out of ten in the Liberal lobby at Westminster, should belong to a party that has refused any arrangement with Liberalism in the constituencies. Merely because the progressive vote has been thus split, scores of progressive seats have been handed over to the Conservatives.

To the eager Socialist, it has seemed clear that the workers, being nine-tenths of the nation, will one day form the Government. But this has not come to pass. Nor is the delay due to the war. The House of Commons is a place where every man finds his level. And experience has shown that the Labor member is neither better nor worse than any other member, while his limited education often unfits him for the larger responsibilities of statesmanship. Frequently, the workers are elected on to the municipalities where also their abilities are tested; and in the local elections just recorded hundreds of Labor councillors suffered defeat, largely at the hands of working women. The strikes on the railways and in the coalfields did only harm and weakened the unions in funds, membership and popularity.

After all, Socialism in Germany, with all its independent organization, did not keep the Kaiser out of war, while Communism in Russia has served as a not less salutary object-lesson. And there arises the grave question whether the return of a Labor Government to power might not arouse the revolutionary elements in India, Egypt, and Mesopotamia and so undermine the prestige of Great Britain in the East. Indeed, the Labor party itself is conscious that the workers unaided cannot safely guide the destinies of the British Empire. Either

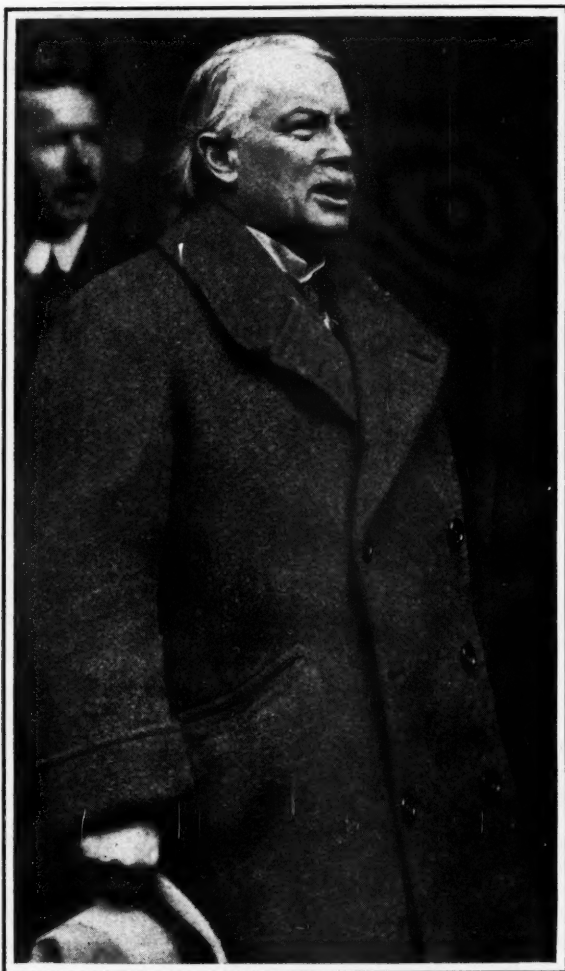


SIR GEORGE YOUNGER, THE BREWER WHO HAS BECOME CHIEF CONSERVATIVE WHIP IN THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

there will have to be intellectuals in the party—men, that is, like Bernard Shaw, who is only "Labor" by label—or there will have to be a coalition with the Liberals, who would be asked to supply the brains of the administration.

The Threat to Tax Capital

With Labor acting against both the Liberals and the Conservatives, it is only natural that both the Liberals and the Conservatives should declare that Labor is a peril to society. Much is made of Arthur Henderson's somewhat reckless assertion that the aim of Labor is to put an end to private enterprise. This challenge is the more serious because there is proceeding in Britain an active religious campaign in favor of Christians surrendering of their own free will whatever income they receive as "unearned" dividend on invested capital. A levy on capital is included in the Labor program, and while some bankers would approve of this if the proceeds were to be devoted entirely to paying off the national debt and so reducing the income tax, it is a very different matter to have a levy on capital which might leave the taxation on what remains of one's capital, the same as before.



HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE ADDRESSING A CAMPAIGN GATHERING, AFTER HIS RESIGNATION AS PRIME MINISTER

Lloyd George's Picturesque Career

As the Conservatives and Labor thus confront one another, there remain the Liberals, divided among themselves and fighting desperately for a share of No-Man's-Land. It is around the personality of Lloyd George that the internecine struggle rages. Left an orphan in tender years, he was reared by his uncle, a Baptist shoemaker, became a country lawyer, scraped into Parliament by a mere handful of votes, and in 1905 reached office as President of the Board of Trade in Bannerman's Cabinet. Within two years he had suc-

ceeded Asquith as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which office his masterly will compelled Britain to accept national responsibility for the sick, injured, and unemployed. Until the eleventh hour he resisted the war against Germany; but with the country committed to that struggle, he set himself to organize victory. He did not mind—he has never minded—which office he held. All he has wanted is the freedom to do things.

When war broke out, in 1914, Asquith was in office as Liberal Prime Minister. The Conservatives were in opposition and Labor was independent. Lloyd George held that there must be a Coalition, Asquith reluctantly agreed, and both the Labor men and the Conservatives joined the Government. In 1916 there arose a second crisis and Asquith resigned, leaving Lloyd George at the head of the reconstructed Coalition. A number of Liberals followed Asquith into the wilderness, but others remained with Lloyd George, and this meant a split in the party. During the election of December, 1918, the breach between the two wings was widened. To his followers, Lloyd George issued a coupon of approval, which was denied to his critics, many of whom were defeated in consequence—Asquith himself being rejected for East Fife, the seat which he had held for the whole of his career. Between the "Coalies," as they are called who hold with Lloyd George, and the "Wee Frees" who are loyal to Asquith, there has thus been a bitter feud. Asquith has remained the titular leader of the party and has control of the war chest. And with him are Viscount Grey, Viscount Haldane, and the main body of Gladstonian Liberals. But Lloyd George still has the crowd that cares nothing for political machinery.

After the Armistice, the first to desert the Coalition was Labor, and Lloyd George

the Coalition was Labor, and Lloyd George

was left to handle a majority in the Commons consisting of nearly three Conservatives to one remaining Liberal. He set himself, therefore, to form a new and national party, which would include these Liberals and all save the more extreme Conservatives. In this project he was supported by Balfour, by Churchill, by Chamberlain and by Birkenhead, all of whom want to see a solid front against Socialism. But the main body of the Conservative wire-pullers would not agree to make the sacrifice. When Lloyd George wanted a Coalition election in the spring of this year, they would not fight with him as leader; and in October, by an overwhelming vote at the Carlton Club, their social headquarters, they declared that they were again a separate party, which meant that Lloyd George might consider himself dismissed.

Effects of the Near Eastern Crisis

What finally determined their action was the crisis in the Near East. With the sack of Smyrna, Lloyd George suddenly dispatched troops to save Constantinople, which cost \$150,000,000, and there spread throughout the country the dread of a new war. In the press a great outcry arose, and the Conservatives won an important by-election in South Wales. Bonar Law advised them, therefore, to strike the blow at the Coalition, and when Lloyd George resigned it was for Bonar Law that the King sent. He is the first Canadian-born statesman to be appointed Prime Minister of Great Britain. But it is idle to pretend that hitherto he has shown what Americans call presidential timber. He has had to form a Government without including in it any Liberals, while a number of Conservatives declined to join. The result is undoubtedly the weakest administration on paper ever submitted for the approval of the sovereign. Promoted under-secretaries through the cabinet.

In the election the number of seats to be fought is 626. The approximate number of candidates standing for those seats is reported to be:

Conservative.....	465
Labor.....	414
Liberal (Asquith).....	325
Liberal (Lloyd George).....	170

Labor has no arrangement with any other party. But in some few cases the Lloyd George Liberals have struck a local bargain



HON. STANLEY BALDWIN, CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER IN THE BONAR LAW CABINET

(It was Mr. Baldwin who, with Mr. Bonar Law, led the fight against Premier Lloyd George in the meeting of Unionist or Conservative members of Parliament, at the Carlton Club on October 19. The Conservatives voted 187 to 87 to withdraw from the Coalition, and Mr. Lloyd George resigned as Prime Minister. Mr. Baldwin is expected to visit the United States soon, to discuss debt payments.)

with either the Conservatives or the Asquith Liberals in their district. In the main, however, the fight is a "free-for-all." There are more than a score of women in the field.

Omitting the Armistice election in 1918, which was exceptional, this is the first appeal to the country on a register that includes men and women, enrolled in what is virtually universal suffrage. It is the first election in which each constituency has only one member; in which, too, each elector has only one vote. It is the first election in which the constituencies are approximately equal to one another in population. And it is the first election that does not include Ireland outside of North-east Ulster.

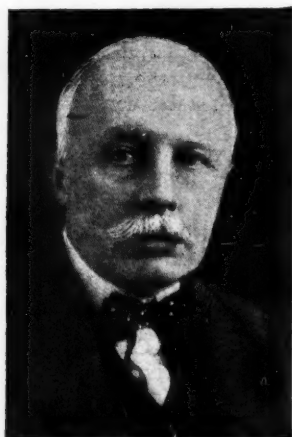
From the above figures, it is clear that, with Labor and the Liberals often fighting against one another, only the Conservatives can win an absolute majority in the new Parliament. But that majority can only be a small one if the parties in opposition act together when Parliament meets. Hence the belief that Bonar Law must seek allies

if he is to remain in power. That he has approached Asquith with a view to a new Coalition, from which Lloyd George would be excluded, seems to be what Mrs. Asquith would call an "amusing" but none the less credible report. On the other hand, what many Liberals of the rank and file demand, especially in Lancashire, is an end to the Asquith and Lloyd George quarrel, a consolidation of their party into its old unity, and an amnesty for the "Coalies." If Lloyd George retains the support of Conservatives like Sir Robert Horne, Earl Balfour, Austen Chamberlain, Viscount Birkhead and Lord Lee, he will not return to the fold empty-handed. It is clear that the dismissal of Lloyd George has not settled the crisis in the Near East. It is equally clear that it has not ended Lloyd George's career. And it is at least very probable that the Parliament, now elected, will only be a short one and that a second election will be held, at a not very distant date, when the issues are more sharply defined than can be the case amid the present confusion.

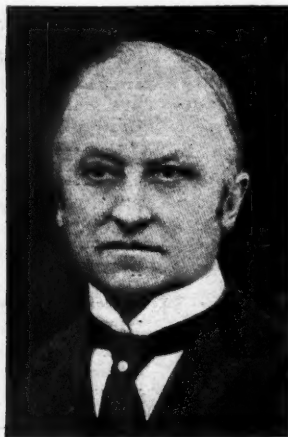
Americans should remember that the Parliament now elected need not last for its full term of five years. It may be dissolved at any time. And it is quite possible that another election may be held at an early date, when a much clearer issue will be laid before the country. The secret of Liberal dis-union is, after all, simple enough. The aims of Gladstonian Liberalism are substantially fulfilled. Irish Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, the franchise, free

trade, religious equality—they are all secure. What the country now needs is better housing, temperance, health, education, and a friendlier relation between Labor and Capital, on which matters the constructive genius of Lloyd George has proved at least as valuable as the more dignified and negative reserve of his Liberal critics.

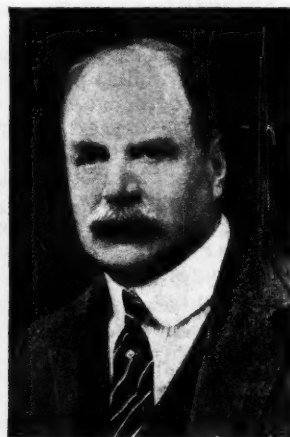
Under these circumstances, if a prophecy must be hazarded, I should say that the Two Party System will again emerge. There will be the Conservatives, strong enough to force the Liberals to forget their differences and even strong enough to force Labor into a Progressive truce. With Britain left to herself, this would be the natural evolution of her politics. But we must remember that Britain is a part of Europe and that Europe is in the throes of a succession of crises. Events over which Britain has no control may determine her internal affairs. The impulse which dismissed Lloyd George was essentially the same impulse that dismissed Woodrow Wilson. "Give us tranquillity—give us normalcy—set us free from foreign entanglements"—that is what the people said in both cases. But with Lloyd George thus dismissed, we have Kemal defiant, Constantinople threatened, and eastern Europe ordering munitions. And Britain will have to choose between action and effacement. It is thus quite possible that Lloyd George will murmur, "I told you so," and point out politely that, after all, Lord Curzon's foreign policy has not led to the quiet life so confidently promised a war-weary nation.



HON. W. C. BRIDGEMAN
(Home Secretary)



THE MARQUESS CURZON
(Foreign Secretary)



THE EARL OF DERBY
(Secretary for War)

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE MERCHANT MARINE

BY EDWARD NELSON DINGLEY

SINCE the World War, attention has been directed more than ever to the development of the foreign trade of the United States, especially exports. Between the War of the States and the World War, America was in the front rank of all nations, so far as domestic development and progress were concerned. Public thought was directed to internal affairs, primarily; and a marvelous industrial and material growth of the country was the result. The United States depended upon its domestic markets largely; yet its foreign commerce developed amazingly during the same period, exports expanding in value from \$445,000,000 in 1872 to \$2,200,000,000 in 1912. It was distinctively an industrial era.

To-day the situation seems to be reversed by reason of a withering world war, costing the United States something like \$32,000,000,000, and producing a distressing period of depression and unemployment from which the country has not recovered yet. One of the current national problems is the search for foreign markets to take the place of many domestic markets now somewhat lean; and the key to the situation is found in the protection and promotion of an American merchant marine. Delivery of American merchandise in American ships would seem to be as important as the delivery of the goods of a large department store in its own wagons. The trade of the United States, it is said, no longer ends at the sea-board; delivery is not complete until the goods are at the customer's door.

The Story of Our Carrying Trade

How to reach this result, how to protect and promote America's merchant marine, is the next large problem before Congress and the people. The background of this problem is the period of European wars from 1790 to 1812, when American ships sailed on every sea and carried there the American flag. Then followed the struggle for supremacy on the seas beginning with

the War of 1812 and continuing through the effort of the clipper ship to compete with steam, until 1855. "Commercial reciprocity" and commercial treaties seemed to tie the hands of the United States; and twenty-seven years later the decline of American shipping in the foreign carrying trade set in. This decline continued until 1917.

Why the Decline?

It is unnecessary to discuss the causes of this decline. Opinions differ. Some say it was a suspension of the early discriminating tariff program in 1828 in favor of imports brought in American ships; some say it was the change from wood to iron and steel that gave Great Britain a tremendous advantage; others say it was the failure of the United States to admit foreign-built ships to American registry and the failure to establish a program of "free ships"; still others say that it was a failure to protect American ships in the ocean trade as they were protected in the coastwise trade from 1817. In his famous reply to Gladstone in 1890, James G. Blaine wrote: "The one thing the United States Government has consistently refused to neglect is its shipping in the coastwise trade."

The tragic part of the story of America's tremendous increase in exports and imports, during the long period of domestic development, was the steady decline of the percentage of merchandise carried in American vessels. In 1830 more than 94 per cent. of America's imports of merchandise and more than 86 per cent. of exports were carried in American vessels. In 1914, when the World War broke out, only 11 per cent. of imports and a little over 8 per cent. of exports were carried in American vessels; 89 per cent. of imports and 92 per cent. of exports were carried in foreign vessels. In August, 1922, slightly more than 33 per cent. of our imports and 38¼ per cent. of our exports were carried in American vessels.

Discriminating Tariffs Forbidden

Many attempts were made, between the War of the States and the World War, to remedy this distressing state of affairs; but all failed. Three primary reasons were assigned for these failures—first, the large ship subsidies granted by Great Britain, beginning with 1839, and other maritime nations later; second, the refusal of Congress to meet these subsidies adequately; third, the inability of Congress to discard commercial treaties, or so much of them as prevented discriminating import duties. Every tariff act from 1862 to 1913 attempted to reestablish discriminating import duties in favor of American ships; but these attempts were nullified by a provision that such discrimination should not apply to the ships of countries entitled by treaty or act of Congress to the same treatment as American ships in American ports. This provision in the tariff act of 1913 was taken to the Supreme Court in October 1906, and there declared inoperative. In 1894 Senator Frye, and in 1897 Senator Elkins, led the attack against commercial treaties prohibiting the imposition of discriminating import duties. Both attacks failed.

The subject of the renewal of discriminations as a policy was discussed by numerous Congressional committees, notably before the Gallinger Committee, which reported adversely to the reintroduction of discriminating duties as a policy. The principal reasons why the majority of the Gallinger Committee of 1905 opposed a return to discriminating duties was not because of the fear of retaliation against American vessels, but because of a fear that foreign governments would shape their retaliation against our export trade in general by discriminating duties especially against agricultural products, and because of the large free list in our tariff laws. However, the principle of discriminating import duties is revived substantially in the tariff law of 1922, which gives the President power to increase any duty, and in special cases to impose a complete embargo, whenever any country discriminates against or adds any burden to the commerce of the United States, or adopts any unfair method of competition.

In 1920 another effort was made to get rid of so much of these commercial treaties as interfered with the protection and promotion of the merchant marine. Section

34 of the Jones Shipping Act "authorized and directed the President, within ninety days, to notify all countries having such treaties with the United States, of the abrogation of all portions of such treaties which prevent discriminating duties."

In explaining his disinclination to enforce this part of the law of 1920, President Harding said to Congress:

Frankly, members of the House and Senate, eager as I am to join you in the making of an American merchant marine commensurate with our commerce, the denouncement of our commercial treaties would involve us in a chaos of trade relationship and add to the confusion of the already discredited commercial world. . . . Reciprocity in shipping regulations and the century of negotiation of commercial treaties, all combine to develop a situation which should lead to endless embarrassment if we denounce our treaties.

The Shipping Board's Vessels

June 30, 1921, two and a half years after the close of the World War, the books of the Government showed that Congress had appropriated \$3,213,217,000 in a feverish attempt to build and operate an American merchant marine. The annual loss was between \$150,000,000 and \$300,000,000 in operation. Under date of August, 1922, the United States Shipping Board had 416 steel vessels in active operation, 1001 steel vessels inactive; 249 wood vessels inactive and nine concrete vessels inactive. Out of a total of 1675 vessels, 1259 were tied up and inactive, scattered all along the coast. Some never traveled under their own power. The inactive vessels include thirty tugs.

Shipping Board vessels in operation are sailing on lines from New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Baltimore to Europe, Central America and eastern South America; also to the west coast of South America. Also Shipping Board vessels are operated to Cuba and the West Indies, and from San Francisco and Seattle to the Orient. These operations are causing the Government an annual loss of approximately \$50,000,000. The administration problem is, how to salvage as much as possible, get the Government out of the ship-operating business, protect American shipping in the ocean carrying trade against destructive competition, and secure as much knowledge as might be derived from sad experience. It is conceded that, if American commerce is to be developed as it should be, there must be an adequate, up-to-date American merchant marine. Says President Harding:

Nobody pretends any longer that shipping is a matter of concern only to the ports involved. Commerce on the seas is quite as vital to the great interior as it is to our coast territory, east, south or west. Shipping is no more a sectional interest than is agriculture or manufacturing. No one of these can be prosperous alone. . . . We need a favoring spirit, an awakening of American pride and an avowed determination that we shall become, in the main, the carriers of our own commerce, in spite of all competition and all discouragements.

The Administration's Program

The President called together a number of experts on shipping, including representatives of the Department of Commerce, economists in universities, officials of steamship companies, admirals of the navy, authorities on ship construction and admiralty lawyers to formulate a plan. The main features of the plan evolved and the bill offered and now before Congress, are these: (1) Amendment of the navigation laws of the United States; (2) sale of Shipping Board vessels and plants; (3) creation of a loan fund of \$125,000,000 for the building of new vessels; (4) in order to create an incentive for shippers to use American vessels, it is proposed to deduct from the net federal income tax five per cent. of the freight charges paid on goods imported or exported in American vessels; (5) the creation and establishment of a merchant marine naval reserve of about 500 officers and 30,000 men; (6) the compulsory transportation of government passengers and freight on American vessels, amounting to approximately \$7,500,000 annually; (7) creation of an army transport service; (8) extension of the coastwise laws to the Philippine islands giving American vessels exclusive right to trade with the Philippines; (9) preferential rail rates on through shipments in American vessels, or enforcement of Section 28 of the shipping law of 1920; (10) coöperation of railroads with American ships, and a preference in freight rates on merchandise exported or imported in American vessels; (11) American control of marine insurance.

Conditions of Subsidy

The high spots in the proposed direct aid are: (1) a differential payment to American vessels, based on gross tonnage, speed and miles traveled, beginning with half a cent per gross ton for each 100 miles covered, the maximum rate provided being two and six-tenths cents per ton per 100 miles, which may be paid to vessels of 23 knots speed or

above. In order to receive this subsidy a vessel must carry a crew two-thirds of which, exclusive of licensed officers, must be American citizens, and the entire remainder of the crew must be eligible to citizenship. All vessels receiving the compensation or subsidy must have been built in the United States, except in case the vessel was built before the passage of the law, and is now owned by American citizens. The compensation is designed primarily to be paid to vessels engaged in furthering the direct foreign trade of the United States. Vessels engaged in what is called "triangular trade" will be allowed compensation provided they return to the United States at least once a year.

The bill makes the payment of compensation conditional on such requirements as will insure that all direct aid is paid to the vessels which are directly furthering the trade of the United States and promoting its future safety. The bill further provides that compensation shall be returned by any vessel which does not actually need it. In any year in which a vessel, having a contract for compensation, makes in excess of 10 per cent. on its invested capital, the owner thereof must return half of all his net earnings in excess of 10 per cent. until the entire amount of direct aid received that year has been returned to the Treasury.

The owner of a vessel of 1500 tons or more is to be granted a deduction in computing his net income equal to the income derived from the operations of the vessel in foreign trade; but the granting of the deduction is conditioned upon his investment of double the amount of the resulting savings in tax, in the building, in private yards in the United States, of new vessels of a type and kind approved by the Shipping Board, and to be put under the American flag. This exemption is to continue for nine years. The construction fund of \$125,000,000 is to be created out of the receipts of the board except appropriations and profits from operation; and the fund is to be used in the construction of new vessels or reconditioning of vessels already built. Loans for this purpose will bear interest at two per cent. to be repaid in fifteen years or less.

It is suggested that 10 per cent. of the customs collections on all imports be diverted into a special fund to be known as the Merchant Marine Fund, to be administered by the Shipping Board for the purpose of paying compensation to American

vessels. This is to apply to merchandise imported in both American and foreign vessels. It is proposed that tonnage taxes be added to this fund.

Higher Standards on American Ships

The fundamental reasons urged for the enactment of this ship subsidy bill into a law, are: Higher pay to American officers and men; higher subsistence standards and costs; higher fixed charges for interest, insurance and depreciation on our admittedly higher ship values; subsidies and other forms of government aid granted by other maritime countries; various methods employed by some foreign countries to discriminate against American vessels in the race for the markets of the world.

An Italian seaman, it is said, receives \$25 a month; a British seaman receives \$35 a month; an American seaman receives \$55 a month. Japanese seamen receive less than any others. It costs more to equip and provision American vessels, it is said. Friends of the measure state that this margin of difference must be made up by some sort of government aid, if an American merchant marine is to survive. It is stated that Great Britain's invisible credits due to the ocean carrying trade amounted to \$2,433,000,000 in 1920, and that the United States shippers paid a good part of this. It costs the Government about \$50,000,000 annually to operate Shipping Board vessels; it is claimed that the proposed government aid will not exceed \$34,000,000.

Subsidies Paid by Other Nations

In presenting his program to Congress, President Harding said:

The conflict between two schools of political thought heretofore has defeated all efforts to employ governmental aid which other nations found advantageous while we held aloof, and the term "subsidy" and "subvention" were made more or less hateful to the American public. But the nationwide desire to restore our merchant marine has outlived all defeats and every costly failure. . . . With direct and indirect aid, I bring you a definite program. Those who oppose it ought, in all fairness, to propose an acceptable alternative. We cannot hope to compete unless we carry, and our concord and our influence are sure to be measured by that unfailing standard which is found in a nation's merchant marine.

Friends of the proposed subsidy measure point out that in 1890 Great Britain paid out approximately \$4,405,000 in ship sub-

sidies. From 1840 to 1905 the same nation paid out \$45,000,000 in subsidies to her ocean vessels. In 1909 alone, it is said, the three maritime nations, Great Britain, France and Japan, paid about \$47,000,000 in ship subsidies. Partly to prevent the Cunard Line from joining the International Mercantile Marine in 1912, it is said, the British Government agreed to pay a fixed subsidy of \$750,000 a year on condition that the company build the *Lusitania* and the *Mauretania*, to aid which, a government loan of \$12,000,000 at 2¾ per cent. was granted the company. Attention is called to the fact that the total subvention, admiralty and postal, paid to a single British line of vessels sailing between Liverpool and New York, is \$1,000,000 a year. Another British line, it is said, receives \$306,000 annually; a third, sailing to the Orient, receives \$720,000 annually. One line of Canadian steamships receives a subsidy of \$225,000 annually; another receives \$200,000 annually. Canada pays in ship subsidies of various sorts about \$3,000,000 annually, it is claimed. The net postal subventions paid by England to its various services amount to \$2,500,000.

The various provinces of Australia grant postal subventions. The Union of South Africa pays \$830,000 in ship subsidies annually, it is stated. The total postage subsidies of France ever since 1889 have averaged \$5,000,000 annually, it is said. Both Spain and Portugal pay ship subsidies. Japan paid \$6,826,000 for navigation bounties of various sorts in 1911. Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, all pay ship subsidies.

Between 1847 and 1858 the United States paid subventions amounting to \$14,400,000. Between 1858 and 1866 no subsidies were paid, only sea postage was allowed. Between 1864 and 1891 various postal aid laws were enacted under which American vessels received from \$250,000 to \$500,000 for carrying the ocean mails. Numerous efforts have been made since 1899 to pass subsidy bills, but without success. In 1915 it cost the Government about \$1,000,000 for the transportation of ocean mails in American vessels. In 1922 (fiscal year) the Government paid approximately \$6,000,000 for the transportation of foreign mails, of which sum about \$2,500,000 was paid to foreign steamship companies.

THE FAILURE OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN UNION

BY CHARLES E. CHAPMAN

(Associate Professor of Hispanic American History in the University of California)

RUNNING from north to south, between Mexico and Panama, are the five republics of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. All but Salvador, which occupies a strip of the Pacific coast, stretch from one ocean to the other.

Guatemala is the biggest, richest, and most populous of the five, with about 2,000,000 of the 5,000,000 inhabitants of Central America; but is a land made up largely of Indians living in a condition of peonage on the vast estates of the coffee planters. Costa Rica is at the opposite extreme, with a white population of small proprietors. In all, there are about 400,000 people in this republic. The other three Central American republics are for the most part *mestizo* (mixed Indian and white), dominated socially, politically, and economically by a white aristocracy. Along the Atlantic coast the population is negro or negroid, and the language is more often English than Spanish. Salvador is much the smallest of these states, but ranks close to Guatemala in population (about a million and a half) and wealth. Nicaragua and Honduras have each perhaps a little more than half a million people. Coffee is the principal product of the countries on the Pacific slope, and bananas on the Atlantic, but they are enormously wealthy in other resources as well.

Six Attempts at Federation

Almost a hundred years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed in New England, the Spanish conquerors had ranged this territory

and founded permanent settlements. They were grouped together in a single government, presided over by the *Audiencia* (a civil and judicial court) of Guatemala and a captain-general. In 1810 the Spanish American Wars of Independence began. There was little fighting in Central America, but on September 15, 1821, the independence of the whole region from Spain was declared. In the following year Central America joined with the Mexican Empire of Iturbide. On the dissolution of that empire in 1823, Central America cast about for a new *modus vivendi*, and in 1824 the first Federation of Central America was formed. This lasted in name until 1840. In 1838 Nicaragua withdrew, followed presently by the other countries. Since 1840 there have been at least six attempts to revive the union, all resulting in failure. The most recent of these has just come to the usual end.

Considered as an ideal there can be no objection to the unification of the five



THE FIVE REPUBLICS OF CENTRAL AMERICA—EXTENDING FROM MEXICO TO PANAMA

republics of Central America into one. Tradition favors it. An overwhelming majority opinion in Central America, irrespective of party, in a general way desires it. As one country, Central America could attain to a position in world affairs that no one of the five can ever have. Then why not unite? Or why didn't they stay united on some one of the various occasions when they have joined together?

Attitude of the United States

There are certain radical-minded Central Americans who cast the blame upon the United States, holding that our Government keeps them divided in order to manage them the more easily. This view, which flies directly in the face of history, was recently advanced to the writer by a young man who had spent the past five years as a student in California.

"You have been in the United States a long time," I said to him. "Do you seriously believe that the United States would have any trouble in dominating the whole of a united Central America if she wanted to?"

He thought a moment, and then answered frankly: "You are right! California could do it alone."

It is time to lay this silly ghost of an eighteenth century "divide and rule" policy of the United States in Central America. Nothing but good for this country could come from a successful union of the five states. Without exception, our Government has always expressed its readiness to see the union consummated, whenever the Central Americans could accomplish it among themselves. When the recent federation was broached, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director of the Pan-American Union, said: "It would be indefensible for the United States to oppose such a union." Secretary of State Hughes put our Government definitely on record when he stated to Doctor Zepeda (Nicaraguan Minister of Foreign Affairs) on June 2, 1921, that the United States approved the formation of a Central American Union, provided it were in accordance with the spontaneous wish and desire of the different countries and their citizens. Mr. Hughes added that recognition would depend upon the prospects of success the union should have, after it had been formed. These remarks of Mr. Rowe and Mr. Hughes should be taken as indicative of the general policy of the United States. The successful attain-

ment of a Union of Central America is a matter that is wholly in the hands of the Central Americans themselves.

Arguments, For and Against

Tradition is perhaps the strongest factor in the desire of the Central American countries for a union. In addition, they have similar problems as respects their resources and need for development; their leading political parties are usually "Liberals" and "Conservatives," with similar (if somewhat shadowy) principles in each country; frequency of revolutions (organized usually across the borders of a neighboring state) and of exile has made the leading families acquainted with one another, and has brought about much intermarriage; and there is also the (at least theoretical) possibility of a saving in administrative and military expenses through the substitution of one government for five.

But there are also arguments against forming a union which at present far outweigh those in its favor. They may be summed up as follows: real patriotism, of the sort that puts country above self, is rare in Central America. A saving in jobs and expenditures is not desired by the unduly large official class, which has hard enough time as it is to eke out an existence; indeed, lack of jobs is an all too prolific cause of revolution. The different countries, different parties, and different individuals within the same country, party, and town are filled either with jealousy or mistrust of one another. Political morality and political methods have not yet reached a stage where the inhabitants are willing to abide by a decision that is adverse to them. And communications are so scantily developed and the resources of governments so slight that revolution, even when unsuccessful, is easy and fairly safe. For these reasons it is always necessary to investigate the specific problems of each attempt at union, looking behind high-sounding programs.

It will be found that Costa Rica has been the most persistently opposed to a union, in which it could have slight weight owing to its comparatively small population. Furthermore, with a population that is largely white and with a record for good government and freedom from revolution that ranks with the best in Hispanic America, Costa Rica is somewhat skeptical of becoming involved in the maelstrom of

Central American politics. Guatemala has usually opposed the union, but for an opposite reason, being unwilling to accept an equal ranking with the other less wealthy and less populous states. And yet it was Rufino Barrios, a Guatemalan, who stood forth as the great apostle of the union in recent times. In 1885 he tried to establish it by force, but met with defeat and death at the hands of a Salvadorean army. The iniquitous Nicaraguan dictator, Zelaya, also tried to bring about union by force, in 1907, dreaming even of a vast empire under his rule that should stretch into South America; but he was unable to accomplish his design.

Opposition to Our Treaty with Nicaragua

With the approach of the one-hundredth anniversary of Central American independence (September 15, 1921), a number of ardent pro-unionists began to suggest the idea of a revival of the federation. An invitation to the other Governments was formally issued by the Republic of Salvador in December, 1920, and delegates from all five states met at San José, the capital of Costa Rica. By that time the forces of particularism had gotten in their work, and the specific issue of the conference at once manifested itself. This was the opposition of the other four republics to the relations of Nicaragua with the United States, and especially to the Chamorro-Bryan Treaty of 1914. In that treaty the United States acquired an option, for ninety-nine years, to build a canal through Nicaragua, receiving also rights to establish naval bases on Great Corn Island off the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua and in the Gulf of Fonseca on the Pacific, in case the canal should be built. The consideration paid was \$3,000,000.

The Central American countries, other than Nicaragua, have bitterly opposed this treaty, despite the assurance of the United States Government that it did not propose to take any action that should violate the sovereignty of the four complaining states. The most vociferously announced objection is that the treaty does infringe the specific rights of three of the four republics and the general rights of all. Costa Rica claims that Nicaragua went back on a promise to share with her the benefits that might come from the building of a canal. Furthermore, though it would be possible to have it entirely in Nicaragua, the San Juan River

(which it is proposed to utilize) has changed its course so that its principal mouth is now in Costa Rican territory. Salvador and Honduras claim that the Gulf of Fonseca belongs jointly to them and Nicaragua. And Guatemala gets in, because the idea of the union has never died, even though the states have separated; therefore, any special advantage accruing to one, it is claimed, ought to be shared by all.

Back of these openly announced arguments there were almost certainly the more sordid motives of jealousy over the profit Nicaragua had made out of the canal treaty, desire to share in that and in anything else Nicaragua might get out of the construction of a canal, and anti-Americanism. There seems to be no doubt but that the union movement was due in part to Mexican propaganda, started in Carranza's time, against the United States. One gets this information on all sides. The motive in this Mexican activity seems to have been a belief that the union would be a valuable ally of Mexico against the United States.

Nicaragua's Side of the Controversy

Nicaragua has been blamed by the other countries for the failure of the union, on the ground that she would not consent to a denunciation of the Chamorro-Bryan Treaty, or at least to a fresh negotiation with the United States with a view to its derogation. It is therefore no more than just to set forth Nicaragua's defense, in some detail.

In the early discussions of the congress it was agreed that the new state of Central America should fulfil the treaties made with foreign powers by each one of the five. Thereupon, Manuel Pasos, one of the two Nicaraguan delegates, asked that special mention be made of the Chamorro-Bryan Treaty. Despite pleasant-sounding speeches, it was clear that the other delegates would not consent, and presently they reached the point of denying the validity of the treaty. Señor Pasos, by this time the only remaining delegate from Nicaragua, was willing to stand upon it merely as a reservation of Nicaragua, without binding the other states to recognize it. This was acceptable to them in so far as it did not infringe "existing rights" of other states—which it was perfectly clear that the majority of the delegates interpreted to mean that the treaty was not, and never

had been, valid because it did infringe "existing rights," basing their view on two decisions of the now defunct Central American Court of Justice, decisions against which Nicaragua protested at the time and ever since. Señor Pasos then tried to have the sessions suspended, to be resumed later at Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, but nothing came of the suggestion. The situation had now reached a deadlock; so Señor Pasos left the conference, early in January, 1921. The remaining delegates proceeded to sign a pact of union for submission to their respective governments.

It was not until later in the year 1921 that the project received much attention in Washington. A meeting of a "Nicaragua Group Committee" was held on June 13, 1921, at the suggestion of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, which developed opinions that were presently embodied in a formal report, dated June 28. Referring to the advantages of Nicaragua's association since 1912 with the United States Government and the American bankers, the report went on to say:

The Government of Nicaragua feels it would be disloyal to the people of Nicaragua if it were to sacrifice those advantages by joining unconditionally any union with other states less fortunately situated. It recognizes nevertheless that there are certain important factors which lead it to the conclusion that if the interest of Nicaragua can be fully guarded, it might well be found advisable to enter such a union. . . . In consequence, it will doubtless be very glad to take up for serious consideration the question of its entrance into the union, provided it can receive assurance that the other members of the federation will be able and willing to put themselves politically and financially into the condition, either before entering the union or through plans adopted in the formation of the union, which will enable all parties to enter the union on such terms that the interests of each shall be carefully guarded and there shall be no undue sacrifice required of any one member.

After making a specific recital of the achievements of Nicaragua since 1912—substantially as set forth by the present writer in his article published in the October number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*—the report concluded with a statement of results to which the other four countries should attain, before Nicaragua could consent to enter a union. In the words of the report, these results should be the following:

(a) A sound monetary system for the union or such a reorganization of the monetary system of the republics that they will work harmoniously with that of Nicaragua.

(b) A satisfactory arrangement of their foreign debts.

(c) A consolidation of their internal debts.

(d) A standardization of customs tariffs, internal revenue fiscal systems, means of communication (post-offices and telegraphs), harbors and ports, coastwise steamship service, and such changes in their political government as may be necessary to make a homogeneous governmental entity.

It should also be clearly understood, of course, that the present contracts entered into by the Republic, either in the form of treaties or contracts with private individuals, should be religiously and scrupulously carried out, backed by the whole confederation, but with Nicaragua primarily responsible.

Still more representative of the official opinion of Nicaragua are the words of President Diego Chamorro. In his inaugural address of January 1, 1921, he referred to the conference which was then going on at San José, saying: "From the beginning there has been observed the well-defined tendency among certain political elements to take the idea of union as a weapon of local partisanship." He then alluded to the attempts to invalidate Nicaragua's treaty with the United States, and concluded, saying that his Government would still put forth its efforts "so that the centenary of our independence may find us reunited under a single flag and forming a single political entity."

A year later, in December, 1921, President Chamorro issued his first annual message, nearly half of which was devoted to a recital of Nicaragua's relation to the project of union. His account of the proceedings at San José agreed with that of the official volume of the conference, which has been followed in the summary given here, but went on to tell of the "repeated attempts at subversion of the public order" since the refusal of the Nicaraguan delegates to sign the pact, all done "in the name of and under the pretext of the federation."

The Latest Attempt at Union

Throughout the other countries of Central America the press openly advocated employment of force to overthrow the existing government of Nicaragua, in order to bring that state into the union, and many Nicaraguan Liberals did all they could to stir up a revolution. Meanwhile the three northern states had accepted the compact of union, and had arranged for a meeting at Tegucigalpa, the capital of Honduras, of a Constituting Assembly, to put the new union on a working basis. Forming themselves into a so-called "Federalist League," certain Nicaraguan Liberals selected delegates to attend the meeting in Honduras,

which began on July 20, 1921. The proposal was made to receive them as the formally constituted representatives of Nicaragua, and this was done by the Assembly, although the Federal Council had previously refused to acknowledge them. The president of the Assembly went so far as to say that negotiations might be opened with the United States to bring Nicaragua into the union, but it would not be necessary to treat with the government of Nicaragua.

Outside of the sessions of the Assembly, the advisability of stirring up a revolution in Nicaragua was freely discussed, and newspapers in the different states quite as freely predicted civil war and the overthrow of the government in Nicaragua. Finally, on August 21, a body of men crossed over from Honduras into Nicaragua, and raised the standard of revolt. They were easily driven out, but later there were other similar invasions. No further attempts were made after October, 1921, but the air has been filled with tales of plotting ever since.

During the conference of San José the Costa Rican delegates and press had been enthusiastic for union. The Minister of Foreign Relations, as president of the conference, even went so far as to denounce Nicaragua for putting ahead of the union "the faith of its plighted word, as the party which is at present in power understands it." And yet, on June 22, 1921, the Costa Rican Congress rejected the pact of union. Many reasons have been assigned for this action, but the one which underlies them all was the failure of Nicaragua to come in. With Nicaragua in the union, Costa Rica might hope to force her own interpretation of the canal treaties upon her northern neighbor; without Nicaragua, the traditional objections of Costa Rica to the union far outweighed all other considerations.

Guatemala, Salvador, and Honduras ratified the pact, but it was evident from the first that the failure to get Nicaragua in had killed the union. Late in 1921 there was a successful revolution in Guatemala. The new government of President Orellana favored the union in principle, but not the one that had been worked out. So it formally withdrew. In Salvador, enthusiasm for the union was decidedly on the wane from the moment it was clear that Nicaragua could not be brought in. The position of Salvador somewhat resembled that of Costa Rica; no formal action was taken, but the union now ceased to function as respects

Salvador. Left alone, Honduras—which some say was the only sincere proponent of union—could do nothing.

Secretary Hughes Calls a Meeting at Washington

As this article goes to press, arrangements are being made for a meeting of delegates from the Central American countries to be held in Washington. As announced in the newspapers, a discussion of the various problems of the five republics is contemplated, with the proviso that the consent of each delegation must be obtained before any specific matter may be considered. Almost certainly a revival of the project of union will be suggested, but assuredly Nicaragua will interpose a veto unless the questions her delegates raised at San José are first settled to her satisfaction. But if it were conceivable that such a result might be attained, then it would be more than probable that some of the other republics would veto the issue of union. In any event, whatever pronouncements may be made at Washington in favor of union, it is better to reserve judgment until the events of the next few years shall provide an answer.

Will there ever be a Union of Central America? Possibly—but there are a number of "conditions precedent." There must be a considerable betterment in the means of communication. The finances of the other four republics must be put upon something approaching the soundness of the Nicaraguan system. These matters might profitably be taken up at Washington.

And, most important of all, there must be an inculcation of real patriotism, over and above local and individual aspirations of jealousies, such that one President, one Congress, one capital, one army, and, in fine, a single government will be accepted by all. Even the recent union did not attempt to go as far as that. Instead of having one President, replacing five, it was proposed to have an executive of *ten persons*—a representative and substitute from each of the states. Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua have the best chance of forming a union that will last, as racially and geographically they are most nearly alike. Guatemala might remain in, but there is some question in her case. Costa Rica is not likely to be appealed to by the idea of union in itself. Only if it is distinctly and continuously to her advantage will she enter a union and stay.

THE GERMAN FINANCIAL FUTURE

BY J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN

I

GERMANY has followed the mad course of so many other countries in excessive issues of inconvertible paper money that we are not without evidence in abundance on which to base reasonable estimates as to what must inevitably follow the break-down of her monetary system. The strange thing is that the disasters into which unrestrained leaders have precipitated their peoples by monetary errors and whose records have been writ large in financial history, should not have served as warnings to prevent Germany from stupidly copying the same futile policies. She has always prided herself on gathering facts in recondite fields of knowledge, even though her scholarship has often been vitiated and lost effectiveness by a too common disposition to speculate and offer visionary theories which have the attraction of novelty or audacity.

It is accordingly difficult to believe that Germany did not know better. If so, she has been consciously dishonest for a political purpose; if not, then her leaders have been inconceivably incompetent. If she expected disasters to follow her mad monetary policy, then it was stupid in her to think that by such serious, self-inflicted wounds she could so excite compassion, as to bring about a reduction in the burden of reparations. The Allies, and the rest of the world, were not likely to be so simple-minded as to be thus deceived.

II

A distinction should be made between a financial and a monetary collapse. The former has to do with income and outgo in a fiscal sense; while the latter concerns the means of payment, the standard in which all prices, quotations of securities, wages, freights, rents and contracts are made. The latter, of course, must react on the former, and make all matters of value and

exchange variable, difficult and confusing. The immediate question in Germany has to do with the monetary fiasco. The errors which have brought the mark to practical worthlessness are based upon hoary old fallacies, always known to work distress.

The pivotal folly, of course, is the mental confusion between the fiscal and the monetary functions of the treasury: (1) On the one hand, the state by taxation or loans engages to provide the means for covering the normal budget of peace or the extraordinary expenditures of war; (2) on the other hand, the state by a duly considered monetary and credit system aims to provide an effective means by which goods or income and outgo can be priced in a stable standard and readily exchanged by forms of money, bills, notes and credit to the greater convenience of production and trade and payment of taxes. Germany has committed the one fatal error of disregarding all experience and borrowing for fiscal purposes through the issue of irredeemable paper money.

The plea of necessity is quite aside from the point. To create a forced loan by a demand debt is itself an acknowledgment of financial distress and immediately lowers the credit of the state. The display of financial incompetence, by which 7000 of the paper marks can now be bought for one dollar, can have no other effect than to so damage her credit as to make it practically impossible for her to float a foreign, if not also a domestic, loan. By hopelessly mixing up fiscal with monetary operations Germany through repeated issues of billions of paper every week has advertised to the world that she is unable to raise funds for fiscal purposes in legitimate ways. For any passable financial existence in the future, Germany's policy must be founded on an unalterable determination to separate entirely her monetary from her fiscal dealings. Such are the principles to which her finances must sooner or later conform, whatever her political struggles.

III

At the moment the cry goes up for the "stabilization" of the mark; and foreign experts have been called in to advise on the matter, as if the disease were something very difficult to diagnose. It is as if a patient were to call in a doctor to cure him of drunkenness while all the time he insists on unlimited drinking. The situation would not seem so absurd if the patient would himself stop destructive intoxicants and then ask a diagnosis as to the damage already done to his physique with an application of suitable remedies to bring him back to health.

It does not require any expert to declare that the first and only step toward future financial rehabilitation is a complete cessation of any and all paper issues—whether Reichsbank notes, Loan Bureau notes (*Darlehnkassenscheine*) or any forms of treasury notes used as money. It ought not to be necessary to suggest such a measure, or even to argue it. But the strange and inexplicable thing in the situation, to a non-German observer, is the continuance of worthless issues on an unequaled scale. It indicates either the dishonesty or the imbecility of the German Government. In the week ending October 31, 1922, the Reichsbank notes were increased by 59,480,527,000 marks, making a total in circulation on that date of 468,875,571,000, while the total a year ago was only 91,347,104,000. In the same week the Treasury and Loan Bureau notes had also been increased by 1,688,235,000. Such banking seems rather the play of children or the irresponsible. It is beyond the field of normality; it suggests the mentality of the author of some recent German memoirs.

Assuming a cessation of further issues, as the least to be expected, then it is clear that under the cover of "stabilization" some form of repudiation is intended. To redeem the 468 billions of Reichsbank notes outstanding October 31 at par (23.8 cents) would require about \$111,000,000,000; at a recent quotation (of less than one and one-half hundredths of one cent, or 7000 to the dollar) it would require only \$67,000,000. The former is obviously impossible. The inflationist policy has already gained a victory by issuing so much paper that it can never be redeemed. To that extent the cheating of creditors has already been achieved by the government. The prac-

tical question is, how far can repudiation be carried?

The committee of foreign experts (Professors Keynes, Brand, Jenks, and Cassel) called in by Germany has suggested that a valuta of 3500 marks to the dollar be adopted. That would about double the recent quotation of the mark at 7000 to the dollar, so that the 468,000,000,000 marks would be given a total value of about \$134,000,000. That would mean a repudiation below par of over \$110,000,000,000. If such a repudiation (after the example of the French revolutionary assignats) were adopted, then it was proposed that redemption of the paper mark should thenceforward be secured at that rate by use of the gold still left in the Reichsbank, which on October 31 amounted to 1,004,853,000 marks (or \$239,155,014). It is evident that the former standard of prices is to be so scaled down that no serious change in the present high level of prices would be necessary. No consideration seems to have been given to the losses falling upon creditors who entered into obligations at a higher value of the mark. Contracts or loans made before the war would be reduced to about one-tenth.

To escape the malodorous old mark, with its associations of repudiation, it was proposed that a new unit be introduced, evidently for international use. It is significant that in the cables reporting the new plan of "stabilization" it is stated that, immediately after the plan was given out, the mark fell on the Berlin Bourse to below 9100 to the dollar. It is inevitable that such a repudiation should seriously damage the credit of Germany and affect its power to place any new loans. The descent to Avernus is easy.

IV

By her own volition and without coercion from outside, Germany plunged into the orgy of paper issues, seemingly without realizing the financial injury which would surely be inflicted on her own people. The monetary debacle reduced her fiscal strength. The extraordinary depreciation of the paper mark in which all prices are expressed caused a wild confusion in prices of goods and in the foreign exchanges. A very paradise for speculation and dishonesty was created. Prices rose as the mark fell but not uniformly: prices rose

and buying power fell before wages and salaries could be (even if possible) proportionately increased.

Moreover, further distress and confusion arose from the fact that the depreciation of the paper relatively to gold, as shown by the quotations of the paper mark in foreign money (*i.e.*, in foreign exchange), went on at a different level from that of domestic transactions. Prices of goods at home rose more slowly than the prices of exchange. In the inflation of prices and credit due to the fall of the paper, dealers of all classes obligated themselves to pay in marks on a high level which could not possibly be met if the paper should recover its value and prices fall. Thus every incentive existed to drive the mark still lower and force prices still higher. The only remedy offered for drunkenness was to drink harder.

Such is the explanation of the fictitious prosperity of German trade and industry. The amazing rush to buy goods in the shops of German cities—or in fact to buy stocks or anything of value—was due to a frantic desire to get rid of the paper before its purchasing power went still lower. As the “*valuta*” might change in one day 1000 marks to the dollar, crowded shops were actually closed in order to hold back goods for higher prices a day later. Then, if goods were to be replenished by importation, the cost through a rising foreign exchange raised prices to a new high level. As a result, the working and middle classes of Germany are living in penury because ordinary goods have risen beyond their means. As yet the government has not dared to raise the rates for travel on the railways in proportion to the fall in the value of the mark; so that the possessor of half a dollar (quite recently) could obtain for it enough marks to buy a ticket for a distance as great as from New York to Boston. Already a disintegrating morale is only too evident. Shopkeepers, railway ticket agents, and money-changers are dishonest because the premium on cheating is so high. Too often in Germany there is exasperation and despair.

Moreover, the friends and partisans of Germany in neutral and other countries, like the United States and South America, have been heavy buyers of paper marks for years, in the belief that Germany would “come back” and redeem the money in due time. Very large sums were taken in foreign countries, under systematic distri-

bution. No doubt hundreds of millions of dollars have thus been passed to the credit of Germany in return for paper which has turned out to be practically worthless. In this way she has unloaded on others a very large part of her debt. Her friends have been sadly punished for their confidence in the honor of Germany. They would have less means and less willingness to invest in German loans in the future.

V

We have seen that the fall of the mark has caused an unparalleled rise of prices. Of course, it led to a constant and feverish speculation for a rise. That phenomenon has always been a consequence of a depreciating standard. Because no one had any confidence in the stability of the mark, and every one was eager to part with it for goods before a further decline, a fictitious demand for all kinds of commodities arose. As shops were quickly sold out, producers and factories were stimulated to the highest pitch of activity. There was no unemployment. Thus industry has been swept along by the inevitable speculation for a rise which is sure to continue as long as the mark continues to fall. Consequently things industrial are on a false basis, and credit has been expanded to a fictitious level. The rate of 10 per cent. at the Reichsbank is the highest in its history. This is the explanation of the feverish activity of German industry, the absence of unemployment, at the very time when so many people are reduced to poverty.

Such a condition of affairs is no evidence of prosperity and cannot continue. The speculative pace is too fast to keep up. As speculation thrives on rising prices, what will happen when prices must cease to rise because the paper has entirely lost its value and can fall no farther? Redemption or refunding is the sole means of raising its value and reducing the volume outstanding. Since outpourings of paper continue on an incredible scale, no one in his financial senses would give anything of value for worthless paper. Even while payments on reparations have been postponed, the mark continues to fall. It has reached a quotation which publishes its practical worthlessness. Evidently no one believes it will be redeemed. Nor is the loan now mentioned by the government intended to be used, even if it could be placed, for the

removal of the paper money debt. If the mark can go no lower, and if speculation for a rise is halted, it looks very much as if the crisis were at hand.

Long before the government will admit the total collapse of the mark, the public will have ceased to take it. It will no longer be a standard of prices. Then, in what kind of money will the huge indebtedness contracted at the recent fictitious high level of prices be settled? It will be the old, old story of the ruinous liquidation after a financial panic. It would have been bad enough to make the readjustment from war conditions to those of peace, to get down from the war level of prices and wages to that of peace, as we in the United States have found out to our cost; but, on top of all that, Germany has only intensified the losses and postponed the inevitable readjustment by her inconceivably wild adventure into irredeemable paper which has taken from her a stable standard of prices. The worse the smashup, the longer the time of depression before recovery.

VI

Already the working of fundamental principles is showing itself. When a money has lost all value it ceases to be used. The trading public, from time immemorial, has then resorted to the use of foreign moneys, especially those of the countries with which they are exchanging goods. To avoid the hindrances of barter a country will necessarily make use of any money which it can import. As we know, American dollars and other foreign moneys have come into frequent use in Germany as a standard in which to express the value of the mark; but international transactions are also carried on in terms of foreign money. An American who sells copper to Germany would specify that the buyer must pay him, not in marks, but by a claim on New York, or its equivalent in English, Swiss, Dutch, Swedish, or Danish funds. In foreign trade such a situation puts on the German buyer the need of getting foreign credits either by exporting goods or selling paper money.

As we have seen, an enormous amount of paper marks has been sold abroad for what they would bring. The innocent German Chancellor in August assumed that the fall in the value of the mark was not due to the absence of redemption and the unlimited over-issues, but to the sale of

marks to buy dollars; and consequently he warned the public against such buying as unpatriotic. Then, on October 12, President Ebert proposed to stop speculation in exchange by a decree forbidding purchases of foreign currency, except by consent of a special control department, at the risk of imprisonment and a heavy fine. The disposal of marks for dollars or any foreign money is actuated by the same motive as that of the hausfrau who buys shoes before the mark goes lower. Instead of stopping the printing presses, this proposed to prevent any buying with the paper after it was issued. No proclamation can prevent the people from parting with depreciating marks in exchange for dollars or anything whose value does not disappear overnight.

English monetary history is crowded with instances of the importation and use of French, Dutch, and other coins whenever there was a scarcity of their own money due to bad regulations. In the United States in the early part of the nineteenth century, long after we had our own coinage system, our circulation was largely made up of Spanish money which came to us through our West Indian trade. Examples of the use of foreign money when the domestic currency has greatly depreciated are numerous. The fact that German sellers now demand good foreign money is significant of the progress already going on in monetary readjustment.

VII

The damage done by confusing the monetary with the fiscal functions of the treasury has thus been shown in a too convincing way by the inept methods of German leaders. It is now eating into her fiscal and economic operations. The naïve theory that, when taxation is unpopular, all the expenses of maintaining the government and even of paying reparations can be met by speeding up the printing presses is getting a very grim refutation in Germany. It is producing speculation, unrest, a lowered morale and general industrial inefficiency. German competition is less feared than it was. Germany can pay her debts only by taxation which is met out of her productive power. She cannot get support for a loan except by producing goods which can be sold abroad in exchange for gold funds by which her credit can be supported.

Everything centers finally on her productive power. That depends on her labor, industrial management, and her access to capital and resources. The first two are not wanting. Her capital, as that of other countries involved in the war, suffered great loss. Her industries depend on importations of copper, rubber, jute, cotton and the like. To obtain these, as well as more capital, she needs credit. But

credit is the very thing she has been trying systematically to destroy by her fatuous monetary and fiscal policy. Her government seems unable to keep them distinct. The *haute finance* of Berlin, Hamburg and Frankfurt evidently knows better. A socialist government, however, evidently wishes no instruction in finance, and hence German industry is probably in for a very slow recovery.

COUÉ: AN ESTIMATE AND A COMPARISON

BY LYMAN P. POWELL

EAST and west through all the centuries, men have been demonstrating the quaint verse of Spenser:

"For of the soule, the bodie forme doth take,
For soul is forme, and doth the bodie make."

To this idea Mrs. Eddy gave new impetus. Dr. Worcester, a distinguished Boston preacher, related it both to the historic Christian Church and to scientific medicine. Mr. Hickson, not reckoning with the doctors, came over here five years ago, after a plain man's life in England, and, Bishop Manning said the other day, "gave spiritual help to thousands."

Now Emile Coué is coming, and it looks as though he will be praised and dispraised more than any recent predecessor. Who is this Monsieur Coué? Some aged men still recall the daring Charcot, at Nancy, first to put mental healing on the Continental map, at a time when throughout Europe mental healers, of one type or another, were doing work of more than local interest.

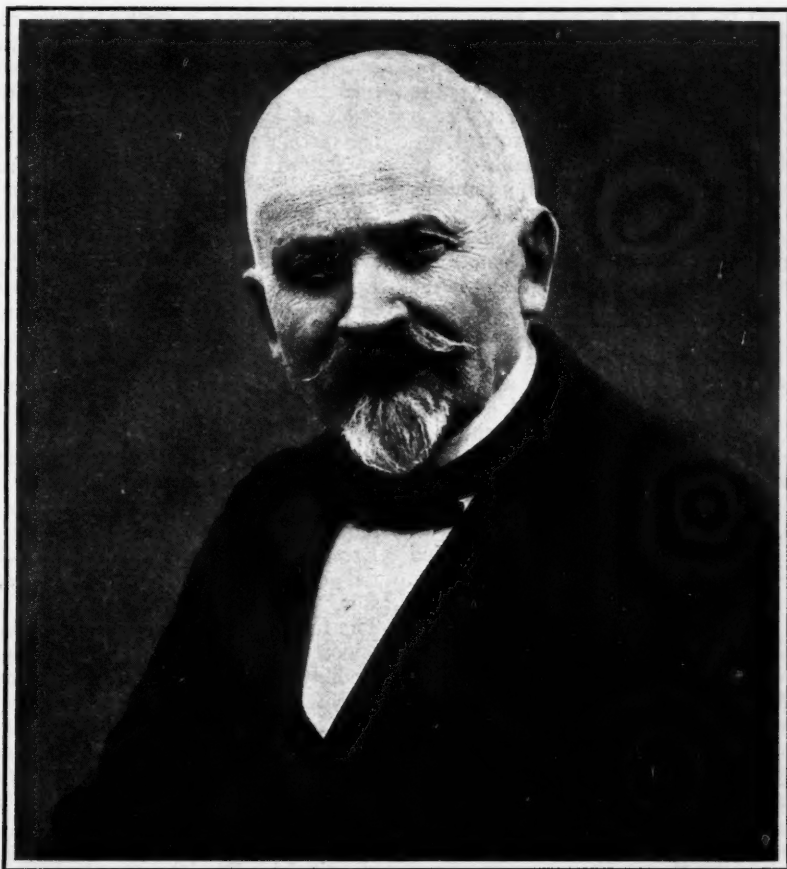
Coué began modestly. When Liébault and Bernheim were at their best, Coué sat at their feet, an eager student, young, impressionable, winsome, learning how, while he was also independently earning daily bread. His life story would occupy few lines in any Who's Who. He came of humble parentage, and his profession is that of a pharmacist. Like P. P. Quimby—one of whose patients was Mary Baker Eddy, in 1862—nobody ever heard of him till he began his healing work. When

Christian Science, New Thought, Emmanuel Movement, and other expressions of drugless healing, were getting under way, Coué made a study of them and at the same time delved deep into psycho-analysis. By 1910 Coué had his New Nancy School going. When the Great War exploded, more than one hundred persons daily were crowding to his clinic, and he was averaging 40,000 consultations every year.

Down to Paris, bruised but still triumphant, Coué took his way in October, 1919, and soon found himself a national celebrity. Last winter in England, for a time at least, he seemed to share public interest with Lloyd George, appeared to help many besides Lady Curzon, and evoked some medical derision summed up in our own *Journal of the American Medical Association* as the purveying of "cloudy stuff."

Back of all his voluble explanations of his methods, is an asset one patient has called "a strong and smiling goodness." Just to see him, just to hear him give assurance with that smile which never seems to leave his face, makes many a sick person better. In fact, the personality of an Osler, a Dubois, a Bastianelli, is often half the battle.

But what after all are the ideas and the methods of this newest champion in the lists of human ailments? Every healer seems constrained to develop his own theory and methods, though as Professor Goddard long since indicated, and the new President of Colgate intimated, all get about the same results. Monsieur Coué is



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EMILE COUÉ, OF FRANCE, WHO IS COMING TO AMERICA TO TEACH SELF-MASTERY THROUGH CONSCIOUS IMAGINATION

an opportunist. With Bergson's star in the ascendant like William James's star a while ago, Coué takes into account Bergson's distinction between intelligence and intuition, and makes the most of intuition, asserting that "We possess within us a force of incalculable power, which, when we handle it unconsciously, is often prejudicial to us. If, on the contrary, we direct it in a conscious and wise manner, it gives us the mastery of ourselves and allows us not only to escape and to aid others to escape from physical and mental ills, but also to live in relative happiness, whatever the conditions in which we find ourselves."

This unconscious self he considers the general guide of all our bodily functions. Since the will is often misused or misuses us, Coué—like Gerald Stanley Lee in another

field—substitutes and cultivates and if necessary reëducates the imagination. "If you can persuade yourself that you can do a certain thing, provided it is possible, you will do it, however difficult it may be." Thus Coué sets the imagination off against the will, and uses imagination through what he calls "self-mastery through conscious autosuggestion."

So many from America and England have visited Nancy that to describe Couéism in operation is not difficult. Mrs. Kirk has just written a whole book of her experiences there last summer. One naturally gets to the clinic early in the morning. Even then the rooms reserved for treatment are likely to be overcrowded. As old Agnew in the days of Garfield always took immediate command of every situation, so Coué

opens up his battery without explanation or delay. To the nervous invalid, with compelling cheerfulness, Coué smilingly remarks: "You have been sowing bad seed in your Unconscious; now you will sow good seed." An excitable and overworked woman deluging him with her troubles, Coué interrupts with the sensible comment: "You think too much about your ills." To a former patient who failed to report improvement, Coué remarked: "You must put your trust in the imagination, not in the will." To a blacksmith with a disabled arm, Coué with authority ringing through his voice said, "For ten years you have been thinking you could not lift your arm above your shoulder. . . . Now think 'I can lift it.' Quick! Think I can, I can!" A gentle stroke of the shoulder, a final authoritative word from Coué, and whispering to himself, "I can, I can," the blacksmith went back to his anvil—and work.

But Coué never forgets that body, mind and spirit are a unity, and while treating the specific ill, he deals with ills in general already making trouble for the patient or ever likely to make trouble. He denies that he does more than teach the patient how to help himself by conscious self-suggestion. "We are what we make ourselves and not what circumstances make us," is his favorite expression. Autosuggestion, properly exercised, he is sure will bring "a progressive improvement which little by little transforms itself into a complete cure, when that is possible."

In the same low monotonous voice heard these years past in Dubois' clinic at Bern, in Lloyd Tuckey's hypnotic suggestions in London, in Worcester's induced relaxations in Boston, Coué in his sunny rooms at Nancy, with the birds trilling through the windows and the leaves a-rustling, reinforces the patient's self-suggestions, and also tries to cure the entire personality. Not even structural lesions, before which doctors stand in pause, make him hesitate. He sends his patients home to sing by day and night:

"Day by day, in every way,
I am getting better and better."

Monsieur Coué will find a hearty welcome next month in America. Like Mr. Hickson he will do much good. Comparatively few will underestimate his healing powers; for some men have such powers. But he will have to run the gauntlet. Christian Science has besides its cures a

serene solidarity, a host of Bible readers, and an organization so effective that in hotels and railway stations everywhere I find the Christian Science literature. In spirit at least, the Emmanuel Movement has certainly returned, and many ministers are following its principle of adding religion to suggestion—auto and hetero—and also deferring to the doctor and strengthening his hands. The action of the Lambeth Conference has been buttressed by the Episcopal Convention, held last September in Portland, Oregon, which appointed a commission to give further careful study to drugless healing, recognized that "special gifts" of healing do exist, authorized such clergy as their Bishop may approve to exercise the same, and very wisely provided for the inclusion of three physicians in the commission.

How does Couéism differ from other movements of a somewhat similar nature? Except in terminology there is no substantial difference. "Each in his separate star," every healer seems to get results. The functional furnishes the most inviting opportunities; but there are organic cases credibly reported to have been improved or cured.

"There's a long, long trail a winding" back to those pre-Christian days when Socrates remarked to Charmides, "there is no cure for the body apart from the soul;" and Monsieur Coué is simply latest in the line. Jesus worked wonders and then promised his Disciples that "greater things than these shall ye do." When Christian Science was under fire some fifteen years ago, and the Emmanuel Movement some thought would divert attention from regular parochial routine, Freud and Breuer opened a new doorway they called psychoanalysis into self-help by suggestion. But "all roads lead to Rome," and though Monsieur Coué points to a new one, which many certainly have already followed and found help, he merely illustrates Victor Daley's words—

"There is nothing but the human
Touch can heal the human woe."

Monsieur Coué is doing the same good work many others have been doing. Being human, he has extemporized his own vocabulary, though borrowing from various sources. If on his visit to us he can help more, ill of soul or mind or body, who are we to say he shall not use the terminology he prefers?

PHYSICAL TREATMENT FOR MENTAL DISORDERS

A SUMMARY OF EXPERT COMMENTS UPON DR. COTTON'S
WORK AT TRENTON

BY ALBERT SHAW

IN THE April number of this periodical there appeared an article entitled "The Winning Fight Against Mental Disease." It was written at the request of the Editor by Hon. Burdette G. Lewis, who is Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies of New Jersey, and who had formerly been an official in charge of penal institutions in the City of New York. Mr. Lewis is a young man of remarkable executive ability, with a high endowment of public spirit. He is sturdy of physique, an optimist, a man who can achieve results.

Although born in the East, Mr. Lewis grew up beyond the Mississippi and graduated at the University of Nebraska. He held a prize scholarship in economics at the University of Wisconsin, and then for two years studied political and social science at Cornell University as the holder of the much-coveted Andrew D. White Scholarship. He is a notable representative of that new type of technically trained official, the need of which is becoming better recognized every year. For certain purposes, such an official must know as much law as a good lawyer, and he must know something of medicine; he must be as adept in finance and business as the head of a railroad or an industrial corporation. He must be a statistician, an accountant, an educator, must understand rules of evidence, court procedure, police methods; and with many other matters both technical and general, he must be familiarly acquainted. Mr. Burdette Lewis is precisely that kind of official.

Under the direction of Mr. Lewis, the institutions and agencies of New Jersey which deal with the State's unfortunate classes—its insane patients, its criminals, and various others—are treated from the administrative standpoint along the lines

of a consistent and intelligent public policy. Mr. Lewis has fortunate gifts of enthusiasm and sympathy, along with a knowledge of human nature, ample courage, and a firm hand in treating difficult situations. Although, as we have said, he is exceptionally qualified, not merely as a trained publicist but also as a technical expert, it is as the administrator rather than as the specialist that he serves in his present office. It is his function to see that the experts are supported in the work they are doing in their respective establishments.

Dr. Cotton and His Work at Trenton

Among the experts who were at work in the institutions of New Jersey when Mr. Lewis became Commissioner, he found a man of singular energy and capacity in charge of the State Hospital for the Insane at Trenton. This man was Dr. Henry A. Cotton, who for many years had been Medical Director. The article contributed to these pages by Mr. Lewis last April was an account of the way in which Dr. Cotton, aided by a well-known New York surgeon, Dr. John W. Draper, and by other medical and surgical associates, had secured what seemed to be remarkably favorable results in the treatment of insane patients by a somewhat radical policy of prompt and thorough attention to their physical condition. Dr. Cotton's methods had been well known to a considerable number of medical directors of hospitals for the insane throughout the United States and to specialists in the field of mental derangement.

Difficult and controverted problems having to do with insanity and its causes had long been under discussion in the medical profession. Great reforms had been accomplished in the more advanced of these public institutions. But there were many

"asylums" remaining which had not fully adopted even the minimum of improved methods about which there could be no dispute. In the old-fashioned institutions, the percentage of patients kept under restraint was shockingly large. There was no such thing as a scientific supervision of diet. Details of environment were unpleasant, and practically nothing was done to divert the patient's mind or lift him out of abnormal moods.

The need of psychopathic study and of institutional reform had been recognized; and progress had been greatly promoted by the efforts of the National Committee on Mental Hygiene made up of men of high attainments and well-earned distinction. This committee had shown us how alarming had been the seeming growth of insanity in the United States, known cases having multiplied almost five hundred per cent. since 1880, while the population had grown about one hundred per cent.

Progress Under Difficulties

There are numerous institutions in different States which have been thoroughly revolutionized as regards ordinary treatment of insane patients. There are also many others in which there is no serious lack of up-to-date intelligence at the directing center, but in which improvements have lagged because of bad politics and of an uninstructed public opinion. A great number of these institutions scattered over the country have been inferior in their personnel as a whole. It has been found much more difficult to provide good assistant physicians, good nurses, and good attendants of lower grade in hospitals for the insane than in large general hospitals for the treatment of ordinary diseases. It requires not only strong professional leadership, but also improved political conditions and an enlightened public opinion to secure from our State legislatures the appropriations that are necessary to provide the right kind of hospitals and equipment, and to employ superior professional talent together with trustworthy employees of the non-professional grades. This general observation applies to prisons, reformatories, and other public institutions almost as truly as to hospitals for the insane.

As respects reforms of the kind about which there can be no controversy, the institution at Trenton now stands with the best. It treats patients so sensibly and

wisely that strait-jackets, padded cells, and all the old-time horrible paraphernalia of "insane asylums" have completely disappeared. These things were well set forth in Commissioner Lewis' article. To a greatly increasing extent, every State in the Union is classifying its dependent population and subjecting the several groups to a differentiated kind of treatment. In former days, the local almshouse, typically known as the county poor-house or poor-farm, contained aged paupers, the feeble-minded, dependent orphans, people suffering from different forms of insanity, and people afflicted with different types of chronic malady. Even greater than the number of those committed to the poor-houses or local institutions were those cared for at home by their families, often under most deplorable conditions.

Physical Care of the Insane

The establishment by the State governments of large institutions for the separate care of the insane, the epileptic, the feeble-minded, and several other classes, has been socially advantageous in a variety of ways. But it was to have been expected that, along with these social benefits, there must arise a series of problems requiring close observation and much study. Thus we have the problems relating to the treatment of children and young people in institutions, other problems having to do with the management of prisons, and very complex questions arising out of the treatment of groups and classes suffering from different forms of physical or mental illness.

Dr. Cotton had studied under eminent authorities, and had spent a number of years in the treatment of insane patients, before he became so fully convinced as he now is that insanity is caused much more frequently by physical conditions that can be remedied than had been the prevailing opinion among the foremost specialists.

Many different things are true at the same time; and because Dr. Cotton and his associates are now so prominently identified with certain methods of treatment, it does not follow in the least that they would deny or repudiate other considerations of a psychological or a physical character relating to insanity. As a matter of experience, they have found at Trenton that it is of prime importance in dealing with insane patients to eliminate certain physical conditions that ought in any case to have been dealt

with, even if the patient had not been insane. In recent years, they have specialized at Trenton in the surgical treatment of what are known among medical men as "focal infections." The most common types of these are infected teeth and tonsils, and chronic intestinal centers of toxic influence.

"Focal Infections" and Mental Disturbance

Getting rid of these infections, taken together with cheerful and encouraging environment, has, in a remarkable percentage of cases, according to the statements of Dr. Cotton and his associates, resulted in an immediate and striking improvement in the physical health of the patient. And this improvement has reacted so favorably upon the unfortunate patient's mentality as to bring about what seems to be a complete or a virtual recovery, so that the patient may be discharged.

We shall not try to recapitulate the statistics or the descriptive statements contained in Mr. Lewis' article. While this was a layman's article, it had been written responsibly and after due consultation. It was very widely read, and it received an unusual amount of attention from the members of the medical profession, while it also had a marked effect upon public opinion as regards the conduct of our State institutions. Many letters were sent to Dr. Cotton, Mr. Lewis, Dr. Draper, and others by those who had read the article; while numerous letters came also to the Editor of this magazine, many of which had come in reply to requests for opinions. These requests, which were for the most part in identical form, were sent to professional men of exceptional knowledge and experience. These men were asked if we might not hope to secure a more general application of the methods employed at Trenton, and might not also hope through the improvement of physical health to find mental disorders showing the same general tendency to diminution or disappearance that is reported by Mr. Lewis on behalf of the work at Trenton.

Public Health as a Social Object

Many of the letters that came in response to these inquiries were full of information, most of them were cordial, some of them were enthusiastic, and a few of them were critical. Before quoting any of these replies, it is worth our while to lay down a

broad distinction between the layman's point of view and that of the professional expert. It is from the standpoint of the layman that Mr. Lewis wrote his article, and it is from the same standpoint that the Editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS published it. It is only in recent years that what is now called public health administration has secured anything like its proper place in the United States. Our earlier conception of the functions of the State or the community as regards public health might have been summed up in the one word "quarantine." We were to prevent the spread of epidemic disease by using the police power to segregate or isolate.

But it is now recognized as a public function, not merely to quarantine the patient suffering from an infectious disease, but to pursue and destroy the infection itself. We use bacteriologists to make sure of pure water and safer milk. We regulate tenement houses to prevent conditions that favor the spread of tuberculosis. We have introduced medical inspection in the schools—a thing almost wholly unknown a few years ago.

An intelligent lay opinion such as that which Mr. Lewis represents, and such as that which this periodical has always aimed to support, readily grasps the idea that public health administration should be something more than a half-developed theory casually applied. We hold, rather, that a greatly enlarged emphasis should be placed upon public health work, and that the efforts of the medical profession should everywhere be diverted in an increasing ratio from the private treatment of individual cases of disease to a systematic attack on ill-health from the social and public standpoint. Early diagnosis and treatment will thus form a surer basis for sound prevention.

Medical Supervision as a Public Duty

This attitude toward health and sickness has a stupendous bearing upon economic efficiency under modern conditions. It means that shops, factories, and offices should be as healthful in their appointments as a reasonable minimum of modern science would dictate. It means also that large employers should take the initiative in providing for the medical care of their employees, and should encourage as a matter of enlightened self-interest the most healthful conditions of living. It means that the millions of children in our public schools

should come under a far more complete and constant medical supervision than has yet been established except in a few of the most advanced institutions. It means that our colleges and schools for higher instruction should give a far greater relative care to the welfare of all their students from the standpoint of physical, mental and moral health than heretofore.

Even if there were any doubts as to the extent to which medical supervision ought to invade the public schools, there could be no possible question in any intelligent quarter as to the thoroughness with which medical oversight and treatment should be employed in our prisons and reformatories, and in all those institutions where the State itself has become in the complete sense the custodian of the inmates. We have been accustomed to regard the custodianship of children attending the public schools as almost wholly retained by their parents. Nevertheless, since school attendance has been made compulsory, and since the facts about health in its relation to education and child welfare have become so much better understood, the old-fashioned objections to such medical care in the public schools as concerns itself with teeth, eyes, adenoids, tonsils, digestive troubles, feet, and other similarly important things, are no longer supported except by ignorance and prejudice.

Dr. Morris on Opposing Theories Regarding Insanity—Virchow vs. Freud

For the purpose of this discussion, let it be assumed that every reader will agree that it is the business of the State to do as well as possible the things that it undertakes to do at all, in our prisons and hospitals. It was the old-fashioned view that insanity inflicted a terrible disgrace upon the individual and the family, and implied a taint that was transmitted and that could hardly be eradicated. The tendency was to conceal cases of insanity rather than to bring them forward instantly for thorough diagnosis and for hopeful treatment. Hope is a valuable factor in all the affairs of life, and it is exceptionally important in relation to an affair so sad as mental disorder.

Now, we are not partisans of the doctrine that physical maladies produce mental disorder, any more than we are committed to the opposite theory that in mental states one finds both the cause and the cure of physical ailments. We have at hand a letter from a distinguished authority, Dr.

Robert T. Morris, of New York, written after his reading of Mr. Lewis' article, which admirably expresses these contrasting views, as follows:

Virchow liberated medicine from speculative philosophy. He postulated that illness, including morbid mental states, would always depend upon physical causes. Freud, on the other hand, takes medicine back into mystery. Having given the mind metaphysical position as an entity he proceeded to draw fanciful pictures upon a small background of fact relating to mental processes. The Virchow idea appeals particularly to men of scientific training. The Freud idea appeals to men of literary training. Work at the Trenton, New Jersey, State Hospital for the Insane belongs in category with the Virchow idea. If work in this hospital gives better results than those obtained at hospitals for the insane in which Freudian theories are held to be valuable we arrive promptly at the pragmatic ergo. The subject becomes no longer one for discussion in the abstract but is one for recognition of data in the concrete.

The presentation of this subject in a publication of the standing of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* will bring it before some laymen of judicial attitude. When doctors disagree, the layman often decides.

There are few laymen whose training is thorough enough to make their views upon these strictly professional controversies of any philosophical or scientific value. But the layman may grasp certain practical considerations, while the philosophers and scientists disagree. It is for the intelligent laymen to demand that in the care of the wards of the State in its hospitals and other institutions there should be medical efficiency and up-to-date management.

Practical Wisdom from a Baltimore Authority on Mentality and Crime

These views are most convincingly expressed in a letter from a gentleman whose training is professional, but whose observation has been broad and general. The quotation that follows is from a letter by Dr. John R. Oliver, Chief of the Medical Service of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore, Maryland. Dr. Oliver writes as follows:

It makes no difference what standpoint one adopts scientifically as to the cause of mental disease, the fact remains that what Dr. Cotton is doing is something definite and tangible, that must appeal to every clear thinking man and that may be blazing the way to important discoveries in the future. At the very least, he is giving to his mentally disturbed patients a surgical treatment that must be of value always, even if one is not absolutely sure that it affects the fundamental causes of mental disease.

Personally, I do not feel as yet absolutely convinced that Dr. Cotton's idea of the cause of mental disturbance is the only possible one. My training and experience have, perhaps unfortunately, been

along other lines. There is, however, no doubt as to the results which Dr. Cotton has achieved. At any rate, the old hopeless way of treating mental disease as a condition that cannot be greatly altered and that calls merely for custodial care, is a thing of the past.

Moreover, there is also another point to which I should like to call attention. The general public still has the old medieval feeling that insanity or mental disease is a disgrace that must be concealed as much as possible. In my own service in connection with the Courts, I am constantly brought face to face with murder cases in which the murderer was mentally unbalanced and whose condition was well known to his family for a long period before the crime. The family, however, feeling that insanity was a disgrace, concealed the man's condition until a serious crime had been committed by him. Anything, therefore, that will tend to teach the Public that Insanity is something that can be approached from a surgical standpoint is of great value.

The public will come then, gradually, to look upon insanity as it looks upon other disease that can be benefited by surgical treatment. The man in the street is not trained in psychiatry and to him the usual course of psychiatric treatment seems impractical and often useless. If, however, one can point to cases of mental disturbance that have cleared up as the result of surgical care, he will change his attitude towards mental disease as a whole and will be willing to take any member of his family who appears mentally disturbed to a hospital where the type of treatment is something that he can understand and do something that seems to hold out promises of ultimate recovery or improvement. In this indirect way I believe that the work that Dr. Cotton is doing is of immense value in educating the general public in their conception of mental disease. Mr. Lewis' article, moreover, brings the whole matter so clearly to the attention of the public that it cannot fail to impress the general reader and to make him realize that the old insane asylums of the past have ceased to exist, and have given place to a scientifically equipped hospital for the treatment and often for the recovery of those who suffer from mental disease. I felt so strongly about Mr. Lewis' article that I have recommended it to my students at the Law School during my lectures this year on Medical Jurisprudence.

Dr. Copeland, of New York, Advocates Publicity

Not a few medical men of profound knowledge and deserved repute have deplored the bringing out before the general public of a discussion that they have considered as belonging exclusively to their own profession. They are undoubtedly right that there are technical questions involved which the public is not competent to deal with. But there is a practical question having to do with the highest efficiency of our public institutions; and it is this question after all that we are endeavoring to present. The popular commissioner at the head of the Department of Health of the City of New York, Dr. Royal S. Copeland, is not sensitive about having these matters

openly dealt with. He has been very favorably impressed with what has been accomplished at Trenton, and he was prompt to congratulate this periodical upon publishing Mr. Lewis' article. "It is unfortunate," he remarks, "that the medical profession is prone to disregard the importance of public health education. It is time that matters of this sort were publicly discussed. I congratulate you that you have opened your columns to these men and that they have been brave enough to accept the opportunity to give publicity which will benefit not themselves but the public." Dr. Copeland's interest in the work at Trenton has been stimulated by personal inspection. His zeal for progress in all that concerns public health will find fresh fields when he takes up his new duties as United States Senator.

Ohio's Progress in Hospital Methods

Another public official of high standing who sees these problems from the standpoint of improved administration is Dr. H. S. MacAyeal, Director of the Department of Public Welfare of the State of Ohio. There is a high degree of practical wisdom in Dr. MacAyeal's observations:

Allow me to say that I consider we are under great obligations to Dr. Cotton for stirring up interest in the use of better methods in our hospitals for the insane. We have been lax in our treatment, generally speaking, all over the country. Legislatures have been slow to make appropriations adequate to meet existing conditions and New Jersey is to be congratulated for having a vision which has resulted in an attempt to meet the needs at Trenton.

So far as the general treatment is concerned, I think it is an open question whether insanity is based entirely upon physical conditions or not. But at least there can be no question as to the necessity of a thorough and exacting analysis and examination of the physical condition of every patient committed to such an institution.

In the matter of discharges, I hesitate to express myself in view of the fact that every hospital has its own ideas concerning discharges, and the terms "improved" and "cured" are seldom used in two different hospitals with the same connotation. It would be necessary, I feel, to know exactly what is employed at Trenton before passing judgment on discharges of patients.

May I say to you that the more publicity we can have on this subject, the better it will be for all concerned.

It is well known in medical circles that attention was given a good many years ago at the Cleveland, Ohio, State Hospital to infected teeth, as a causative factor in mental ailments, and this institution continues, under the superintendence of Dr. Guy H. Williams, to attach no little im-

portance to the medical and surgical care of its patients. Dr. Williams has written us a letter regarding Mr. Lewis' article that deals instructively with many points relating to the Trenton work; but he writes rather in the sphere of matters that concern the profession than the layman. This remark would also apply to a letter received from Dr. Arthur G. Hyde, who is Superintendent of the State Hospital at Massillon, Ohio. Both of these institutions come under the general direction of the Department of Public Welfare, of which Dr. MacAyeal is Director. One feels that Ohio is not disposed to be laggard or negligent in its medical care for the unfortunate citizens who are brought into the State institutions.

An Indiana Authority Commends Open Discussion

In the State of Indiana, there is a Board of State Charities, which supervises hospitals for the insane and other institutions. While the Governor of the State is nominally at the head of this Board, the active official is the Secretary, and the incumbent of that place is an eminent publicist, Mr. Amos W. Butler. From Mr. Butler comes a letter strongly approving the idea that the people at large need to be instructed, in order that the States may be more efficient in their management of institutions. Mr. Butler sends a chart from a study made for the Indiana Committee on Mental Defectives showing the deplorable condition of the descendants of one feeble-minded woman, the argument being for proper public care of such unfortunates. We quote as follows from Mr. Butler's interesting letter:

It seems clear to me that Dr. Cotton and his associates are on the right track. The physical man and his requirements are similar, whether he is in a State hospital or a prison or at home. It is logical to bring the best recognized methods into use in the treatment of those in public institutions. In fact, the States ought to lead, which unfortunately, except in rare instances, they do not. While in general State hospitals have improved much, in recent years, most of them are still far below what they ought to be. Many of them that are called hospitals are really asylums. But we are all encouraged by the progress that has been made, and the thing that is needed, above all others, is popular education on the subject. The people should be taught by those who really know about mental health and mental defectiveness, and what our public hospitals are doing and should do. When the people know, they will demand the best for their unfortunate neighbors and relatives, and that is what they should do.

Of course you are familiar with the National

Society for Mental Hygiene. You know Doctors Salmon, Williams, Anderson, Paton and many other leaders. That organization in itself and through its State societies is doing much.

I enclose you a chart which we have just prepared for our State Health Exposition. This is a study of one of our families. Its like can be found many times in every State, and yet the people generally do not recognize it, because they are uninformed. It is just now that we are beginning to have some education on these subjects.

Dr. Bowers Calls for Better Support by Legislatures

Our views regarding the value of publicity are well supported in a letter from one of the foremost of our American authorities upon mental treatment in institutions. Dr. Paul E. Bowers, of the United States Public Health Service, was formerly the medical adviser in charge of the Indiana Hospital for Insane Criminals. Writing from the United States Veterans' Hospital at Palo Alto, California, Dr. Bowers commends Mr. Lewis' article, and particularly approves of publication in this periodical because as he declares the readers of this magazine "are intelligent, thinking laymen, who get behind reforms and mold public opinion, and so make advances possible in the treatment of our dependents." The following extracts from Dr. Bowers' letter point to good work that goes forward in other institutions:

I am glad to say that good work such as Dr. Cotton is doing is also being done by his contemporaries in various progressive and modern State institutions. In the Indiana Hospital for the Insane we had a very well-equipped dental department, a splendid pathology department, and a well-equipped surgical department, all of which were properly officered. We had for quite a number of years been doing the same sort of work that Dr. Cotton is doing. I regret, however, that our work did not have the publicity it should have had. Had our work been better known the public might have stood behind us and augmented our efforts by compelling our hard-hearted legislators to give us the money for our State institutions when we needed it to carry on the humane and scientific work inaugurated by Pinel in France and Rush in America.

It was my good fortune and pleasure to have been associated with Dr. William A. White at the Government Hospital for the Insane at Washington, D. C. His institution is the fountainhead of progressive work in psychiatry in America, and the young men that are being trained under his direction are going out to hospitals for the insane all over the United States. They serve as a leaven, so to speak, and spread the propaganda for scientific and humane treatment for the unfortunates in our hospitals for the insane.

As the Chief of the Neuropsychiatric Service at the U. S. Veterans' Hospital No. 24, at Palo Alto, it has been my endeavor to remove all possible focal infections which may undermine the nervous

organism of the patients in my charge. To do so we remove infected tonsils and infected teeth and perform surgical operations that may be necessary, and use physiotherapy where it is indicated.

Praise from a Veteran in Preventive Medicine

One of the most hopeful of the letters received in relation to Mr. Lewis' article comes from a man who has had an exceptional length and range of experience, Dr. Charles W. Page, now of Hartford, Connecticut. Medical men do not need to be told that Dr. Page was for many years Director of the famous Massachusetts Hospital for the Insane at Danvers. It was he who took the lead in the United States in removing all physical restraints from insane patients. Dr. Page accords generous appreciation, and he wisely foresees the relation of these methods of treatment at Trenton to our future progress in preventive work. The following are extracts from his letter:

About thirty-six years of my life have been spent as a medical officer in hospitals for the insane. Commencing such services under a medical superintendent with long hospital experience and abundant enthusiasm concerning his hospital work—a master in fact of the arts involved in successfully managing the insane, I early acquired ideals respecting that branch of medicine which stimulated my activities and sustained my courage during my long continued work with the insane; ideals that have stood to me as mental "yard-sticks" with which to measure other men's service in behalf of the insane—the most afflicted class of God's creatures.

Dr. Cotton's work and publications illuminate these hitherto obscure problems and outline their solution by rational methods. The toxic origin of delirium, and some serious phases of mental disorder, is a view that has been entertained for years, and the idea of "auto-intoxication" as a prolific cause of insanity has had its advocates in the past, but owing to the absence of specific comprehensive explanations no progress resulted. But now, after years of scientific investigation along this line, testing each clinical observation by laboratory demonstrations, Dr. Cotton has accumulated a sufficient mass of indisputable facts to warrant mature generalization. It must be admitted that he has established a positive relationship, as cause and effect, between bacterial toxins and functional insanity; that he has accurately pointed out many anatomical localities where brain and nerve cell poisons are frequently generated, and better yet, he has described the measures, surgical, bacterial, etc., by the use of which such malign agencies can be eradicated, or counteracted. . . .

But as I view the significance of this rational idea of mental disorder I foresee its chief exploitation in preventive work, and venture to predict that the time will come—years hence, naturally—when local or State Boards of Health will systematically watch the children of school age to anticipate injurious effects from focal infections; making frequent examinations, of the most thorough character, in all

obvious, or suspicious cases of subtle toxemia, thus arresting in large measure the development of insanity in young and middle-aged people.

I have been profoundly interested in Dr. Cotton's enterprising hospital methods for a considerable term of years. Understanding his qualifications for both clinical and laboratory work, his diligence and his sincerity, I have followed his expanding schemes for scientific work at Trenton with the deepest interest and an abiding faith that his laudable efforts to promote the welfare of the insane would be crowned with success. His triumph exceeds my prevision. As the fruits of his labors become more and more apparent they assume grand proportions, and I extend to him befitting congratulations.

Dr. Draper merits gratitude for his share in this humane undertaking, and I congratulate him. Furthermore, Commissioner Lewis is to be congratulated upon the results of his official and friendly support of Dr. Cotton through the uncertain years required to work out the details and formulate this most helpful theory of the common cause of insanity.

Personally, I rejoice exceedingly that I have lived to witness the inauguration of such effective measures for treating and suppressing insanity.

Testimony from an Expert on "Neurasthenics"

As head of the great Massachusetts institution, Dr. Page's work was largely among indigent patients. Dr. D. E. Drake, on the other hand, head of a well-known private institution, has dealt chiefly with patients from well-to-do families. This successful head of the "Idylease Inn," at Newfoundland, New Jersey, in reply to our letter of inquiry, has written the following communication regarding the work of his colleagues at Trenton:

In reply to your favor I beg to say that I have been conversant and in close touch with the work at Trenton since its inception four years ago. I am convinced that it is a question only of time when other State institutions will follow this lead. No more or less is done there than at any modern medical center for the care of the physically sick. But while this care of the declared insane, with resultant arrest of their symptoms, is of admitted importance, is it not obvious that the paramount duty of the profession is to seek out and apply preventive rather than remedial measures? Ought not the accepted facts, demonstrated by Billings, Satterlee, Rosenow and others, as to the danger of harboring bacterial foci in the body, be spread freely before the public?

My work has brought me into contact with many hundreds of men, women and adolescents, variously and improperly diagnosed as "neurasthenics," "neurotics," or as suffering from "nervous breakdown." Each and every one was "nervous" because of a definite physical cause. Our duty to the public is to find this cause and remove it. Following year by year the histories of these unfortunates, I have been astonished to note how many have developed well-defined "functional psychoses," necessitating permanent residence in a hospital for the insane. An appreciable number of this large group have committed suicide.

I heartily agree with the rapidly growing group in the medical profession whose members, in accord with the great English school, believe that the so-called "functional psychoses," notably dementia praecox and manic depressive insanity, are not in themselves disease entities, but are in reality terminal symptoms resulting from long-continued toxemia; and that in the great majority of cases those patients who go on to this form of insanity have, almost without exception, passed through well-defined periods of "neurasthenia" and "nervous break down," due to physical and often removable causes.

For this reason I believe that ultimately the work inaugurated by Doctors Cotton and Draper upon the adjudged insane will also be done hereafter upon the "neurasthenic" and "nervously broken down." I look forward with confidence to the recognition and elimination of all focal infections in this great group of pre-insane, and feel convinced from personal experience that by this removal of the cause there will be even greater success in the *prevention of functional insanity than in its cure*. For if the Cotton theory proves to be correct, as biological evidence and State statistics indicate, the proper diagnosis and surgical attention will be given in childhood and early adolescence instead of as at present, after a long period of invalidism often followed by final commitment.

This waste of precious time forces the unfortunate individuals to pass on, by slow but certain stages, from nervous invalidism to a functional psychosis: that is to say, in plain English, from a curable to an often incurable condition. The one is a prodromal stage, the other is terminal. The actual passage from the first state to the second is an indefinite, intangible but very real event. It may be likened, in a way, to the "critical period" of water, by which, under infinitesimal variations of temperature, its whole character changes by passing instantaneously from a liquid into a gaseous or solid state.

While commending the tireless energy and the fearless attitude of Dr. Cotton and Dr. Draper I believe, therefore, that, important and successful as is their effort to cure the functionally insane, its much greater scope of usefulness, as they themselves predict, will lie in the future in *prevention*.

A New York Colleague on Dr. Cotton's Work

We hope at some future time to make quotations at length from remarkably wise and helpful letters written by Dr. William C. Garvin, Superintendent of one of the important New York State hospitals located at Kings Park, Long Island. It will suffice here to quote certain remarks upon Dr. Cotton's work and upon the need of supplying to our institutions a much more extensive equipment for medical and surgical care and also a clinic for diagnosis. These extracts are as follows:

I have been acquainted with Dr. Cotton for a good many years and am fully conversant with his work, so far as one can be by personal conversation, hearing him lecture, and reading his literature, and am of the opinion that he has rendered a great service to the patients in the hospitals for the insane by drawing attention to the necessity for remedying any physical condition which the patient may have.

I am in full sympathy with him in his desires to eliminate all sorts of focal infection, and for a few years past, in this hospital, every incoming patient receives examination at the hands of a specialist of the eye, ear, nose and throat, and an examination by our resident dentist. Owing to the fact that there are 5300 patients under our charge and we only possess one dentist, it can readily be seen that we cannot go very far in this branch of medicine.

However, I may say that every ex-soldier patient, of whom there are nearly 300 in the hospital, has had his teeth ex-rayed and all decayed teeth removed and other dental work furnished. The same, so far as removing the teeth, is done in the case of every incoming patient, and those who are in the hospital in so far as this seems indicated.

All infected tonsils of the ex-soldier patients and new patients are also removed. We do not go as far as Trenton for the reason that we have not the laboratory facilities. If any of our patients need surgical or special medical attention, they are referred to the visiting specialists in their branches.

Diagnostic Clinics Needed

I believe in every State institution there should be a diagnostic clinic through which every new patient should pass for a complete examination and that this also should function for all other patients in the hospital. This involves the expenditure of considerable sums of money for proper laboratories, equipment, personnel and supplies. Whether one could reach the results claimed by Dr. Cotton would have to be proven by careful study of the result of such efforts by physicians of unbiased opinion.

At this hospital we have planned the erection of a diagnostic clinic in which will be available the most modern means for the diagnosis and treatment of all physical conditions causing or associated with mental diseases. There is no doubt that if we place the patient in an improved physical condition and eliminate all toxic conditions recoveries will, in many instances, be hastened and improvements caused so that the patient may be returned to his family.

Arkansas Adopts Improved Methods

The State of Arkansas is to be congratulated upon the enterprising and successful methods of Dr. C. C. Kirk, Superintendent of the State Hospital at Little Rock. Dr. Kirk wishes that funds might be found to establish a research laboratory for the investigation of the causes of insanity. Dr. Kirk gives us so interesting an account of the work that goes on under his direction at Little Rock that we make no apology for quoting at length, particularly because of his account of conditions in a State where the population is chiefly rural:

Having a personal acquaintance with Dr. Cotton, I am familiar with the splendid work he is doing at Trenton, N. J. More than ten years ago Dr. J. L. Greene, who was then Superintendent of this Hospital, instituted modern methods of treating the insane by establishing a laboratory, operating rooms, hydrotherapy, records of patients, and during the early part of his Superintendency our present Governor, who was then a Trustee, secured for the

hospital a full time dentist, who was one of the first full time dentists in this country. Furthermore, at that time there was only a handful of institutions which were making extraordinary efforts to promote a cure in the insane. During the past five years I have been Superintendent and the modernization of the hospital has been continued.

Under your paragraph "Results Count" is shown the number of cures at the Trenton Institution. You will be interested in knowing how our records compare with those of Dr. Cotton's. April 1, 1917, there were in this hospital 2018 patients, and on April 1, 1922, there were 2026 patients. Between April 1, 1917, and April 1, 1922, 5147 patients were admitted; number of paroles, including escapes, 4043; number of returns 1329. The 1329 returns indicate that they were only improved or having remissions. Assuming that the patients who did not return were cured, it would make our recovery rate more than fifty per cent. This, I believe, is too high, because a small number of the patients were kept at home who were not completely recovered. Arkansas is ninety per cent. rural, and the patients who are paroled from this institution go into a simple and less complex environment than do those from the New Jersey Institution, the majority of whom go to the large cities. Unfortunately, we haven't enough field workers to follow up all of our paroled patients.

Facts from Little Rock

Dr. Cotton mentions the discontinuance of mechanical restraint. This hospital was well supplied with mechanical restraints including steel handcuffs, leather belts, anklets and muffs. Our discontinuance was not brought about suddenly, as it required some time to educate the employees that mentally sick persons could be cared for without the use of these restraints. Furthermore, Dr. Cotton is only treating the acute and chronic insane, while we have, in addition to the acute and chronic insane, the criminal insane, the feeble-minded, epileptic, alcoholic and drug addicts of both the white and black races, and receive all patients from the entire State, which has a population of 1,750,000.

When I began my work it was in an institution where the Superintendent and many of the older members of the Staff believed that few if any mental cases ever recovered permanently, and not more than ten per cent. had remissions. It was in an institution where splendid custodial care was given the patients, but very little scientific treatment administered. The spirit of pessimism affected me and I felt there was not much to be done in the way of treatment. But to-day I feel optimistic because I have been happily surprised to see the results obtained by scientific, constructive, humane methods.

The majority of the patients admitted to this institution are undernourished. This is particularly true of the women. More than ninety per cent. of Arkansas is rural and many of these people are extremely poor. They do not have a well-balanced diet. All undernourished patients are given extra feedings of milk, eggs and sugar in addition to the regular diet. An expert dietitian makes up the menus for these patients. Fifteen or twenty years ago a dietitian was almost unheard of. Patients did not receive well-balanced diets as they do to-day. It is a delight to see the changes come over these mentally sick people after they have had a thorough examination, diagnosis made, the physician has obtained the proper elimination through various drugs and through hydrotherapy, and the dentist

has given treatments. If the tax-payers could see the wretched mental and physical condition of some of the young mothers who are sent here because of poverty and the strains and stresses of a number of small children, and then see the transformation that takes place after a few weeks or months of humane scientific treatment they would never make a complaint about the taxes for this hospital.

The impression we endeavor to make on the patient in a modern mental hospital to-day is the same as is made on the patient who enters a good general hospital for the physically sick persons. Think what it means to have an institution with more than two thousand patients built in the suburbs of the city which is surrounded now by homes and not have to administer an average of more than one or two quieting drugs per night. Ten or fifteen years ago it would have been a very common thing to have given at least forty or fifty hypnotics to that number of patients, and that was the reason we had so many so called maniacs.

The mortality rate of this institution last year was the lowest in the history of the institution, but it is not as low as we expect to make it. One third of our deaths occurred within thirty days after the admission of the patient, which means that the patient came to the hospital in a dying condition, some of them dying within twenty-four hours after they arrived.

Hopeful Prospects

Under your paragraph "Extraordinary Economics," it is self-evident that the parole law has saved Arkansas hundreds of thousands of dollars and made it possible for us to keep our doors open to the acute and recoverable cases. Early treatment is the important thing to impress upon the people. If the people could only know that insanity is not a stigma, is not a disgrace, that there is no reason to be ashamed of it, but that it is a disease just as much as pneumonia is a disease, we might receive patients earlier. We are observing that more cases are coming to us early. Last year we received thirty-seven patients who were nervous but not insane.

The construction of our buildings is such that practically every room and dormitory is reached by the sun sometime during the day.

Arkansas has none of the almshouses which are spoken of as still existing in New Jersey "where the insane poor were only 'put away' to stifle their cries when they were supposed to be 'possessed of demons.'" The solid cell doors opening upon a cavernous passageway with their tiny peep-holes, the ring-holes in what is left of the decayed wooden floors worn half through by the tramp of excited feet, the curiously carved, scratched and chipped half-plastered stone wall and the tiny grated windows, which open just above the ground, are mute evidences of "man's inhumanity to man."

Do we know the cause of insanity? No, in 50 per cent. of the cases; but we are going to know more than we know now. Twenty years ago many of the ablest medical men taught that one of the causes of paresis and locomotor ataxia was riding on trains, and that was the reason so many railroaders had it. To-day we know that it is due to a definite organism.

The most pressing need Arkansas has to-day is that of a new institution where the feeble-minded and epileptic can be cared for, thus giving this institution greater freedom in its efforts to promote a cure in the acute and recoverable cases.

Wise Comments from Utica

Returning to the older institutions of the East, we are glad to have the privilege of quoting from a singularly wise and broad-minded letter from Dr. Richard H. Hutchings, Superintendent of the New York State Hospital at Utica. Dr. Hutchings discriminates, but he does not disparage, and he sees the importance of the problem in its public aspects. We quote the following paragraphs:

There cannot be two opinions as to the advisability of removing sources of infection whether located in the tonsils, at the roots of the teeth, or elsewhere, and placing the patient in as perfect physical condition as is possible. At this hospital we maintain a well-equipped laboratory and X-ray department, employ a dentist and a dental assistant, and particular attention is directed to investigation of these sources of infection on every patient admitted. This has been particularly carried out since Dr. Cotton's reports first began to appear in the medical journals.

The profession is indebted to Dr. Cotton for calling attention to sources of infection which might easily be overlooked, which doubtless have some bearing upon the general health of the patient, and secondarily upon his mental condition, but when due consideration has been given to this part of the subject one has still to recognize that mental disorders, occurring as they do in various forms, modes of onset, duration, and termination, vary so greatly that a single cause does not furnish an adequate explanation. Another important question is what constitutes a recovery from mental disorders. Ability to remain outside of a hospital is not in itself sufficient. Between 50 and 60 per cent. of the patients admitted to this hospital, sooner or later, are in a condition to return home, wholly or partially self-supporting, but we do not claim that for that reason they have recovered.

There are excellent authorities who regard disorders of the ductless glands as having an important bearing upon the causations of mental diseases; others hold that they are fundamentally constitutional; others that the faulty elimination of toxic substances is an important cause. There is another important group which regards the fundamental cause an unsuitable environment, a poorly adjusted economic or family situation.

It is evident that the field for investigation is a broad one, and while Dr. Cotton is doing excellent work, he is only touching one edge of a vast problem, the solution of which is far off. There will be mental disorders as long as there are people in the world, but by working from all sides we are gradually acquiring a better knowledge of how they should be treated, and maybe prevented, and in time they may be less common, but it is too much to hope that they will rapidly disappear.

Dr. Adolf Meyer Advises Thoroughness and Caution

When the intelligent layman, with an open mind and a desire to gain information, intrudes upon fields of current medical

discussion that are reserved by the specialists for members of their own profession, he is at least sure to discover that these men of scientific training are making progress, regardless of their differences. The time has arrived when it would be advantageous to promote research into mental hygiene on more extensive and thoroughgoing plans than has yet been possible, in view of the fact that such work would require large financial support. Some of the letters received from eminent authorities are wholly convincing as to this point.

Thus Dr. Adolf Meyer, the eminent psychiatrist of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and Medical School, places what seems to us a proper stress upon the need of well-supported neuro-psychiatric investigation and research. Dr. Meyer, in a preface written by him to a volume of public lectures by Dr. Cotton entitled "The Defective, Delinquent and Insane," shows that while such hopeful and energetic work as that which goes on at Trenton is to be encouraged, there ought at the same time to be independent research into these and other methods, and not too hasty a jumping at conclusions.

Dr. Cotton had been a pupil of Dr. Adolf Meyer more than twenty years ago; and he would undoubtedly admit that there is no one better entitled than Dr. Meyer to state frankly the danger that the public may expect too much in the way of "solution by just one trick, instead of being willing to give adequate support for a more judicious (and undoubtedly, also, fundamentally effective) broader study and handling of the problem." Dr. Meyer holds that psychiatry is now as mature for well-supported research as are infectious diseases. In his letter to us, he commends highly the work that is now being carried on under the direction of his own successor at Ward's Island, New York, Dr. George H. Kirby, in the field of neuro-psychiatric investigation and research. Dr. Meyer's views of the work at Trenton are well expressed in the following paragraph:

The work for mental health must be carried on where active and determined work is the order of the day. The New Jersey State Hospital at Trenton has proved to be such a place. An important experiment is being carried out there. If means could be made available to carry out and follow out Dr. Cotton's substantial and not merely speculative work, psychiatry would make another large contribution of importance far beyond its own special sphere of mental hygiene, and it would find for

its own further development a group of patients relieved of one of the insidious sapping influences taxing humanity, thus offering a free field to work with the many other features which are bound to play a rôle.

*Suggestions by Medical Directors of
Insurance Companies*

Similarly, a letter from Dr. Augustus S. Knight, of New York, while according generous praise to Dr. Cotton and his associates, is disposed to caution laymen against ignoring the difficulties and problems which all specialists, including those at Trenton, are ready to admit among themselves, in their professional arguments. Dr. Knight is one of the managers of another New Jersey State Hospital for the Insane which is located at Morris Plains. He is also the Medical Director of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. He is not disparaging, but he advises caution and reminds us that "There are so many features that play important parts in the causes and continuance of mental disorders, and so many measures that tend to help in the care and treatment of those afflicted with these disorders, that the whole problem is indeed a big one."

Dr. Oscar H. Rogers, who is Chief Medical Director of the New York Life Insurance Company, has made a personal inspection of the work at Trenton, and expresses his high regard for Dr. Draper as well as for Dr. Cotton and his admiration for their efforts. But Dr. Rogers does not think that we, as laymen, ought to be publishing articles in what he regards as a strictly professional field. He wishes that there might be a commission appointed to "investigate these Trenton cases, study the records, analyze the treatment, observe the cases after treatment, and follow them up so as to know what has become of them." This certainly would be desirable, and there could be nobody more fair-minded than Dr. Rogers himself to have a part in the work of such a commission. Why should not the great insurance companies, through their medical departments, support an inquiry of this kind?

*Opinions of Doctors Chapman, Williams,
and Stewart Paton*

Dr. Ross McC. Chapman, Superintendent of the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital near Baltimore, Maryland, writes cordially and hopefully regarding the kind of work described in Mr. Lewis' article, but

reminds us that there are conclusions which must await verification through a longer period of time and through greater experience. He believes that the article in general "reflects the healthy progressive attitude found in all of our best State hospitals." Finally, Dr. Chapman fears that premature publicity may have the effect of "raising great hopes in thousands of families throughout the country before their work and their conclusions have been checked up and finally endorsed by a much wider scientific medical opinion."

Dr. Tom A. Williams, of Washington, speaking for himself and for other psychiatrists, commends whatever publicity may help to improve the medical and hygienic care of the inmates of our State institutions. He reminds us that in some States the public has hardly begun to see the need of such medical work. He is, on the other hand, inclined to think that the discussion of highly technical and controversial matters should be kept within professional circles. Other letters from authorities are similarly fearful that publicity may not serve the best ends. Yet all these letters reflect a real demand for improved medical care and administration in State establishments.

Dr. Stewart Paton, of Princeton, who is known everywhere to students of psychiatry, writes in the most generous spirit, and from his own knowledge, of the improved medical treatment that Dr. Cotton has been able to secure for patients at Trenton. Dr. Paton, however, reminds us that in working along the physical line there is danger that these reformers may "not place sufficient emphasis on the psycho-genetic factors in the causation of mental diseases." He declares:

We need to take the broadest possible biological view of the organization of the personality; and in the forms of disorganized personalities, as we commonly call mental diseases, I think we shall find that the physical and mental factors play an equally important rôle. I wish that what Dr. Cotton is doing at Trenton could be done in every hospital for the insane in this country. At the same time, we must not forget the very important rôle played by mental hygiene.

Professor Edwin G. Conklin, the eminent scientist who is now Professor of Biology at Princeton, and who is also well acquainted with the work of his neighbors at Trenton, regards this treatment of focal infections as of great value. He believes, however, that it is too soon to predict to

what extent such treatment will reduce the number of cases of mental disorders. Dr. Conklin had at one time served on the Hospital Board at Trenton, and his observations in the following letter therefore represent a mature judgment rather than a casual impression:

I am well acquainted with the work and am very glad to see it given publicity through the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

In reply to your inquiry, I beg to say that I have no doubt that the methods which are now employed at Trenton in getting rid of focal infections, especially of the teeth and tonsils, will prove of very great value in the treatment of mental disorders and deserve to be widely adopted. Whether this method of treatment will lead to a very marked reduction in the number of cases of mental disorders it is too soon to predict; but it is reasonable to expect that it will greatly hasten the recovery of many cases which might otherwise be long protracted or possibly incurable.

*Dr. Mayo and Dr. Billings Give
Encouragement*

Dr. Mayo, the distinguished surgeon of Rochester, Minnesota, regards the viewpoint of Dr. Cotton and his associates as "in line with modern investigations as to the origin of disease," and believes that Mr. Lewis' article will help to bring about an extension of the method to other institutions.

Dr. Frank Billings, of Chicago, offers the following interesting comment:

I am unable to fully evaluate the results of the application of the principles of focal infection in the treatment of mental disease as outlined in the report made by Dr. Cotton of his work, and as described in the article by Mr. Lewis. I can say only that the principles which underlie focal infection in relation to systemic disease have been established and are applicable in the treatment of disease, both acute and chronic in character. However, like every other established principle pertaining to the problem of disease, the application of these principles is frequently utilized with poor judgment and discretion by individual medical practitioners. I hope that the work done by Dr. Cotton in behalf of the insane may prove to be of value in the prevention and cure of mental disease.

No endorsement of a more unqualified kind has come than one from Dr. George W. King of the State Hospital for the Insane at Secaucus, New Jersey. He refers to successful work in his own institution along the Trenton lines and also to similar work in the treatment of acute cases in a psychopathic ward at the Jersey City hospital.

A Final Note of Cheer

From a number of other superintendents and medical directors of hospitals for the

insane in different parts of the country we have received letters at once cordial and discriminating; and, taken in the aggregate, they are highly encouraging, because they all show keen intelligence with regard to the need for improved medical care in our State hospitals and other institutions. It will perhaps suffice to refer specifically to only one more letter, this being from Dr. Stanley, Resident Physician in the California State Prison at San Quentin. Dr. Stanley had recently made a visit to Trenton to inspect the surgical and medical work carried on there, and he sets that institution in the highest place of those he has visited for its "whole-hearted efforts to do something more for the patients than to give them custodial care." "Personally," says Dr. Stanley, "I feel that the group of doctors [at Trenton] are doing a great work, and if there were more in the world like them who would undertake the solution of such problems and work as tirelessly and energetically as these men do, it would not be long before many of our problems in insanity and other diseases would be on the road to a much better understanding."

In conclusion, we cannot do better than to make note of information received from Dr. Cotton himself just as this article was ready for the press. He informs us that his staff at Trenton is now "tabulating and analyzing the 1400 cases which have been discharged as recovered in the last four years." "Only forty-two of this group," he continues, "have returned to the hospital and are now in the institution. There may be fifty that we have lost track of. Of all the others we have very comprehensive reports from the field workers at least twice a year. Thus we have accurate knowledge of their condition. This would answer the criticism that although patients are discharged they are not followed up." Dr. Cotton further remarks that the interest aroused by Mr. Lewis' article in our April number has brought to Trenton many visitors from institutions in distant States, men of training and experience, who form their own judgments.

The upshot of it all seems to be that improved medical methods in institutions under public control is a crying need of the hour; and that intelligent publicity must be invoked for this great social object, not less than for other things that relate to the welfare of human society.

A SCHOOL FOR PUBLIC SERVICE FOR WOMEN

BY MARJORIE SHULER

IT is by grace of training, and not of pull, that women are going to make good in civic housekeeping positions. And the women all over the country, in small cities and large, who are demanding that such positions be given to women are coming to realize that some training is necessary. It takes more than a big brush and a stout pair of arms to keep streets clean. An eye for dust in the corners and a nose for bad odors is not sufficient equipment for a bakery inspector. It is not in the detection of crime but in the prevention of crime that a good policewoman excels.

And so the forward step which the Women's Municipal League of Boston and the Massachusetts Committee of the National Civic Federation have taken in the establishment of a School for Public Service is of general interest.

Even street cleaning becomes a gentle art in this school; and not only street cleaning, but market inspecting, tenement-house inspecting, the work of school attendance officers and policewomen, all of those small and seemingly irksome tasks of city housekeeping, which are as vital to the life of the community as the corresponding tasks in private housekeeping are to the life of the family.

Under-valuing the intelligence required in domestic service has brought about an unfortunate condition which affects every home in the country. In the same way, under-valuing the intelligence required for similar forms of civic service has lowered the standards for such work in every community. Boston is taking the initiative in training women to put into these smallest civic tasks intelligence, understanding, and patriotism; and in the School for Public Service there has been worked out a plan which might easily and profitably be followed by women's organizations in other communities. That plan, furthermore, has already passed the experimental stage.

Women who want to become stenographers and bookkeepers go to school for training, declared the two organizations which founded the Boston school. Why should not women who want to pass the civil-service examinations for sanitary inspectors, school attendance officers, and policewomen go to school to learn how to do that work efficiently and to study it in its relation to the Government and all the other activities of the community?

A Desire to Serve the Community

What was the response? When the school opened for its first six-months' term, last winter, there were so many applicants that only those best qualified were permitted to enter as students. Even then the school could not admit all who seemed desirable students, and more applications continued coming in, until in the spring, long before the first term had ended, a second class was formed.

What kind of women were the applicants? Plain, home-abiding women for the most part, by far the greater number of them married. There were mothers whose children had grown up, leaving them with decreased home duties and few outside interests; middle-aged married women without children, and widows with children to support; unmarried women who had been working in offices and were not satisfied to go on through the years filing cards or typing reports, but who wanted some occupation which would make them feel of value to the community.

There was a reason for the total absence of college graduates and for the small number of young women who applied for training. The positions which the graduates of the school aim to fill pay small salaries. In most cases the maximum is not more than \$2,000 a year. The desire to serve the community, therefore, must be greater than any other impulse.

Each class is limited to eighteen students, in order that there may be opportunity for personal interviews and individual instruction calculated to overcome the marked differences in education, equipment, and experience among the women.

A session of the school, in one of the offices of the Women's Municipal League or the Civic Federation, looks like that in any college classroom with the lecturer seated behind a big desk and the students armed with notebooks and pencils. But there is this difference: there is less awe and more friendliness than exists in the usual school-room. The lecturer is interrupted with questions, and at the close there are more questions and a general discussion.

The lecturers as well as the students are animated by a desire to benefit the community, and every member of the school faculty gives his or her services without charge. Fifty instructors volunteered for the first term. They were federal, State, and municipal officials, whose detailed explanations of their work gave the students a valuable understanding of the scheme of government and the relation to it of the work which they were preparing to do. They were college professors who talked on the theoretical side, and social-service workers who talked on the practical side, of community needs and the manner in which civic service might be lined to social service.

The Subjects Studied

In each course the same general plan is followed. All of the students are given the same foundation lectures, two each week, on such topics as the historical background of the modern city, the social structure of the city, the city charter, the city officials, the electorate, municipal finance, and the various city departments.

At the conclusion of the general course the students are divided among the three departments of the school.

The class of policewomen studies in detail the organization of a police department, the work of policewomen in cities of the United States and Europe, State laws and municipal police ordinances. It takes up also a general outline of court procedure, rules of evidence, and special problems presented by dance halls, public parks, railroad stations, and theaters. Special attention is given to lines of preventive work, and the class is taught that the measure

of efficiency of a good policewoman is not the large but the small number of arrests made.

Prospective school attendance officers hear lectures on the various school and community agencies for education and recreation, and on special classes of various kinds—including vocational guidance and placement—by means of which they may interest children in school work. They study methods of home visiting, how to make themselves seem friends instead of enemies and their visits a pleasure instead of a disgrace. They are taught that they must not wait until truancy develops, but that they must watch the school work of the children in their districts and at the first suggestion of flagging interest investigate home conditions, improve them where possible, and explain them to the teachers.

There are three general lines for the class in sanitary inspection. Tenement house inspectors hear lectures on overcrowding, light and air, plumbing and drainage, cleanliness of stairs, halls, cellars and yards. Food inspectors learn construction, plumbing, ventilation and cleanliness, what to look for in restaurants, markets and provision stores, bakeries and ice-cream and candy factories. The street and alley inspectors hear about standards of cleanliness, house waste disposal, trade waste, and snow removal. And they find out that more is required to keep streets tidy than a big brush. The profession has its finer points, dealing with careless householders and inefficient collectors who scatter garbage on sidewalks and indifferent owners of stores and factories who block passageways with piles of refuse.

Tours of Observation and Inspection

It is more than classroom knowledge that the students obtain. First they are sent out on general tours of the city. They learn its geography, the location of various buildings and organizations connected with the community activities. They learn the characteristics of the various sections of the city and the improvements which should be made. The powers of observation of the students are considerably quickened by these trips, their progress being carefully noted by means of the detailed reports which they are required to make. When the reports of the general trips are satisfactory, the classes are ready for the

next step, the special field investigations along their individual lines.

For instance, the class in policewomen will be given a lecture one day on moving-picture houses. On the next day the students will be assigned districts to investigate. They will be required to report on all details: the kind of films shown, the lighting, whether children are admitted without adults, and the general morale of each place visited. Or possibly the lecture will be on dance halls, and the investigations on the following day will be among the dance halls of the city and the opportunities for preventive work among the young people who frequent such places.

The class of school attendance officers will hear one day how to make a survey of a school district, and the next day it will visit schools and homes, collecting data and making maps to illustrate its findings.

The class for sanitary inspectors puts its classroom knowledge to the test by long walks through the rooming-house district, where the clandestine light-housekeepers are driven to queer expedients to get rid of incriminating eggshells and coffee-grounds; or through the foreign section, where the sidewalks are cluttered with tubs swimming with grapeskins and vermin, and through a manufacturing district where the streets are blocked with loosely piled refuse.

A typical report of such a walk made by a student of the school reads:

Alley at ——— Condition bad, ashes dumped on ground, receptacles overflowing with scrambled material, part of a stationary boiler filled with old cans and papers. This place needs immediate attention.

Alley at ——— Ashes dumped on ground.

Alley at ——— Clean except entrance to——street, which is littered with refuse. Mostly all the receptacles here are wooden. Collection had been made, but I noticed several barrels filled with rubbish and ashes. This needs to be followed up to ascertain who is responsible—city men in overlooking them or householder late in putting barrels out. Several barrels in bad shape, one in particular broken and ashes thrown out.

Alley at ——— Condition bad, garbage strewn on ground, barrels too full.

Alley at ——— Covered with cans and papers. Two large holes in alley, dangerous for horse and wagon.

The students not only prepare reports of lectures and do field work. They are required to read and write summaries of books relating to their study; and they are drilled in office routine, filing, report-making, problems of arithmetic and writing letters.

Their letters usually deal with their work. For instance, one student in the school attendance course set forth to the Boston Superintendent of Education the reasons why women should be employed in these positions. She wrote:

The schools, it seems to me, are urgently in need of some one to represent them who can enter the homes of the pupils with that sympathy and comprehension of home conditions in which a woman necessarily excels. Such a woman by getting at the causes of the pupil's failure, which may be inherent in the home, and by picturing these to the child's teacher, might do much to keep the child in school. If his teacher understands him, she can perhaps lead the child along in a way that will enable him to succeed where before he failed, and to like school where before he disliked it and sought to evade attending.

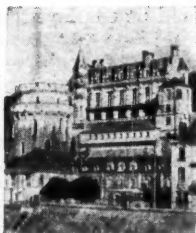
The students gain further experience through volunteer service under various social agencies of the city. In the first class one student was assigned to the Family Welfare Society in Cambridge, giving her full time to the work. Another student was given charge of a girls' supper club and did school visiting under the direction of one of the Boston settlements. One student made a special study of the waste-boxes of the public works' department. Four students carried out supervised field work with the School Visitors' Association.

Two of the students who were credited with experience in civic work were in themselves the strongest proof of the need for such a school. In their own communities they had passed civil-service examinations and had been appointed as policewomen. They were acceptable to their municipal administrations but they were not acceptable to themselves. They felt that they needed more training, and on their own initiative they registered in the school.

What is true of Boston and its neighboring communities is true of other parts of the country. Tremendous efforts are being made now to open all kinds of government work to women. All women are tested in the person of each woman who receives such an appointment. Boston means that her women shall make good.

A HOLE IN THE HILL IN FRANCE

BY MARCUS M. MARKS



A CHÂTEAU NEAR
TOURS

CONTRASTS serve as life's greatest educators. This we realized while whizzing through the beautiful chateau district of France.

After visiting some of those wonderful old castles, near Tours, interesting in their architecture and works of art, we suddenly came upon a little hole in a hill which was to teach us an important lesson. A chimney poking out of the top of the hill, seemingly *apropos* of nothing, first called our attention to the opening below. Upon questioning our guide we learned that a family lived there. "I was born in one of these primitive homes," he told us.

We stopped our car and approached the tiny cavern, about 100 feet from the road. A small, elderly lady came out to greet us. She was a picture of neatness, cheerfulness, and respectability. "Would it be impertinent for us to ask you to show us your home," we inquired. "Not at all," she smilingly replied. "Enter!"

We had expected to see a dark, dingy hole in the ground; instead we found a bright, attractive room as clean as a pin. The entrance, about 10 feet high by 6 feet wide, permitted the bright sunshine to flood the little home. A hundred years ago this room was scooped out of the hill, evidently of limestone formation. Ceiling, walls, and floor were light and scrupulously clean. Sparkling pans

and dishes were hanging in good order. An open fireplace, with blazing logs and kettle boiling, added to the cheer. Magazines and papers were on a table. A neatly covered bed occupied the far end of the room.

An adjoining excavation showed the husband's workshop, with its tools in orderly arrangement, and a good supply of firewood. We thought we had seen all and were about to leave, thoroughly satisfied, when the old lady asked: "Would you like to see where we breed rabbits, chickens, and guinea-pigs?" We certainly did want to, and she proudly escorted us to a similar nearby excavation, where, separated by wire netting, the three classes of animals were kept. The same neatness and order prevailed here as in the home.

She then showed us her little vegetable patch and on the other side a pretty flower garden.

The greatest surprise awaited us; when we tendered the lady a gratuity, she raised her hands and exclaimed: "No! No! No! thank you!" This was indeed a novel experience, as travelers abroad will testify.



THE HAPPY OLD LADY AT THE DOOR OF HER HOME—A HOLE
IN THE HILL

Feeling under obligation, we placed the money on the table in spite of her protest and hastened away. The old lady cried "Wait a moment!" and insisted on cutting her most beautiful flowers and making bouquets for the ladies of our party.

We went away deeply impressed. We had learned more of value from our visit to that plain, independent, happy old lady, living in a hole in the hill, than from all the grand châteaux we had just visited. From

her we learned of peace, simplicity, and contentment; at the châteaux we found art and interesting medieval history weighed down by evidences of strife, dissipation, and extravagance.

The hole in the hill was a home which showed how little was needed to bring the great blessings of happiness in the family; the châteaux, by contrast, showed how much was required to satisfy the overambitious in their complex, restless existence.

SECRETARY LANE'S LETTERS

IT is no ordinary circumstance that the Page letters and the Lane letters should have made their appearance at the same time, and so soon after the death of these two remarkable men. We commented in our last number upon the letters of Walter H. Page, dealing chiefly with the period of the Great War from his vantage point as American Ambassador at London. It was only four years ago that the illness which was soon to terminate fatally compelled him to resign his post. The freedom with which in his letters he discusses men and measures makes us wonder a little at the courage of those who decided to give to the world to-day what literary executors of more timid judgment would have put under seal for twenty years or longer. We may venture to say that this immediate publication has done no harm at all; while, on the other hand, it has given us good cause for gratitude. The historic period through which we have been passing has been one of such profound moment that we are entitled to have the real sentiments of those who lived in close touch with events.

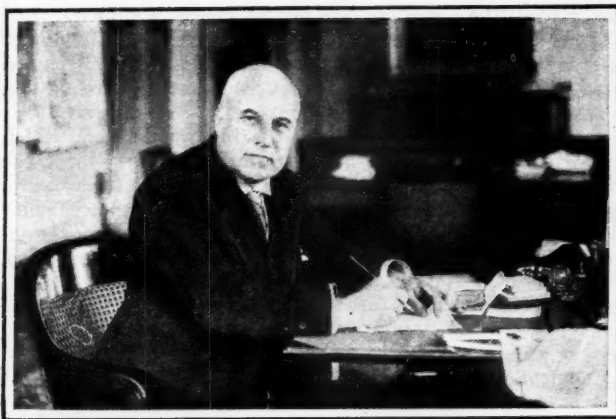
If, then, the printing of Walter Page's private letters is justified in view of their public interest and value, it may be asserted on like grounds that the appearance of the letters of the late Franklin K. Lane,¹ in a well-edited volume, is an event of literary and political importance, while also unusual in its disregard of conventional reticence. The Lane volume has been compiled with great intelligence by Mrs. Lane and her associate. The biographical introduction by Mrs. Wall is charmingly written, and the

whole work is so carried through as to place on record with rare fidelity the mental and moral qualities of a man who had come to be known as one of the foremost Americans of his generation.

If Lane had not been born in Canada he might have been the Democratic nominee for the Presidency instead of Woodrow Wilson in 1912. After the thoughtful reader has finished this volume he may well be disposed to reflect a little upon the part that accidents play in our political life. As a very small boy, Lane was brought from Nova Scotia to California. He did a great deal of newspaper work at an early age, partly as a means of support while going through the University of California and studying law. He spent a year or two in New York as a newspaper correspondent while broadening his horizons as a preparation for the future. He went to Tacoma, Washington, and edited a newspaper that failed. After that he returned to San Francisco to practise law, but found himself a leader in the field of municipal reform and became City and County Attorney. He would have been elected Governor on the Democratic ticket but for the opposition of Mr. Hearst's *Examiner*.

His display of moral and political courage, his lofty ideals, his genial and magnetic personality, his genuine brand of democracy, his warm heart and his unfailing human sympathy, soon made him the foremost man of his party in California. He looked like Col. Robert Ingersoll, and, like that unrivaled orator, Lane's prose was often poetical in phrase and sentiment. In many ways he was very much like Theodore Roosevelt, and mutual friends soon made the President aware of the powerful young

¹ The Letters of Franklin K. Lane, Edited by Anne Wintermute Lane and Louise Herrick Wall. Houghton Mifflin Company. 473 pp. Ill.



THE LATE FRANKLIN K. LANE, AT HIS DESK, AS SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

Californian. President Roosevelt, thereupon, brought Lane to Washington as an Interstate Commerce Commissioner. In an epoch of change and reform in the relationships between business and politics, Lane became our most influential authority upon the public control of transportation. President Taft kept Lane on the railroad commission, and it was there that Woodrow Wilson found him as promising cabinet material.

Colonel House is probably responsible for Lane's appointment as Secretary of the Interior. He had never met Woodrow Wilson, but cherished ardent hopes and expectations. Though a Democrat, Lane was not much of a partisan, and he would have gone with Roosevelt and the Bull Moose crowd if the Democrats had not nominated a man whom he regarded as equally progressive. During his long years in the cabinet, as may be readily discovered by the reader of this volume, Lane felt much closer to Roosevelt personally than to Wilson.

The editors of the volume have been very generous to the public in their inclusion of many non-political letters written to relatives and close friends—letters showing the man himself in moods of unrestrained and extravagant banter, of delicate fancy, and of serious reflection. The literary instinct was always very strong in Lane, even as it was in Walter Page; and it happens in the one case as in the other that a man who had never written books shows best in his private correspondence how unusual was his gift of style.

As a public man Lane was by far more ex-

perienced than Page, and in his letters he was much more cautious about expressing himself censoriously. He served the Wilson Administration not only with great distinction but also with loyalty. But in his letters, as in those of Page, one finds a good deal of disillusionment and a certain growing perception of the limitations of a President from whom so much had been expected. Many of us who had known Lane well were fully appreciative of his worth as a man, his value as a

public servant, and his great vision for the remaking of America. But in this volume Franklin K. Lane stands self-revealed; and there is nothing in the portrait that he has thus unconsciously painted of himself that could possibly disappoint anyone who had held him in admiration and esteem.

Every one of the hundreds of letters and memoranda from Mr. Lane's pen contained in this generous volume of almost five hundred pages is readable; and most of them are useful as throwing some light upon matters of public concern. However, those letters that are grouped under the chapter headings, "Cabinet Talk and War Plans" and "Cabinet Notes in War-time," will naturally be regarded as of chief importance. These two chapters remind one of the Diary of Gideon Welles, who was Lincoln's Secretary of the Navy, but whose revelations were withheld from the public until half a century after Lincoln's first inauguration. Since the editors of this volume have given us so much of a confidential sort about Cabinet meetings, and about the President and his methods, it would not be impertinent to wonder whether or not the letters and memoranda covering this period are complete and unabridged as printed, or whether a considerable amount of material has been excluded which might come to light at some future time. The impression one gains is that Lane was growingly disappointed at President Wilson's inability to take counsel, and at his failure to rely, as he might have done, upon the able and loyal Cabinet ministers who were members of his official family. A. S.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

Should the Allied Debts Be Collected?

IN A speech at Toledo, O., on October 16, Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce and a member of the Allied Debt Commission, declared that the Allied nations' war debts can be repaid without undue strain and within a reasonable period of time. He computed the payments for interest and amortization by the Continental nations at about \$350,000,000 yearly, or from 2 to 12 per cent. of their governmental income. He said:

There is no need for despair in the future of Europe if it can maintain peace. Its hard-working population, its tremendous industries, its enormous productivity and its magnificent intelligence, its fabulous development of skill and scientific knowledge are vital forces that must win if they have half a chance.

These economic problems are problems that we must vision over years and decades. They must not be obscured by fluctuation in exchange or by calculations of trade balances in terms of war and depression. Europe has made great economic progress since the armistice. Its troubles to-day are solely in the political and finance fields.

Her social organization, her agriculture, industry, transportation and commerce have found extraordinary recuperative powers from the depths of disorganization and famine of 1919.

These loans to twenty nations amounted to about \$10,000,000,000 and were nearly all demand obligations. They now amount to \$11,500,000,000 in principal and accrued interest, for interest has been practically suspended up to date. The terms of repayment were to be determined by Congress and Congress has laid down the conditions under which payment can be extended over a term of twenty-five years. It is the duty of the funding commission to see that these terms are carried out, and, of course, no alteration would be possible except through action of Congress.

Certain phases of the discussion that seem to Mr. Hoover to require emphasis he elaborated as follows:

First—These loans are often spoken of as debts to our Government. They are, in fact, debts owing to our taxpayers. These loans were made at the urgent request of the borrowers and under their solemn assurances of repayment. The loans were individual to each nation. They have no relation to other nations or other debts. The American taxpayer did not participate in reparations and acquired no territory or any other benefits under the treaty as did our debtors. There is no question

as to the moral or contractual obligation. The repudiation of these loans would undermine the whole fabric of international good faith. I do not believe any public official either of the United States or any other country could or should approve their cancellation. Certainly I do not.

Second—With the exception of some minor amounts, perhaps 5 per cent., I am convinced that these debts can be repaid in some reasonable period of time without realization of the oft-expressed undue strain on the debtor countries or the threat of a flood of goods from debtor countries in such quantity as would endanger employment of the factories and workmen of the United States.

Third—The proposals for further postponement of payment of interest for a certain number of years arise from the belief that certain countries can not physically make these payments at the present time without undue strain, or that postponement of interest would contribute to the general economic stability and the more rapid recovery of these countries in which everyone would benefit. The British do not make claims for such assistance from us and are arranging their payments. This covers some \$4,750,000,000 of the total debt and thus clears up nearly one-half of the problems at once. The proposition, therefore, narrows itself to debtors



THE LIGHT THAT MUST NOT FAIL

From the Chronicle (San Francisco, Cal.)

on the Continent. Our annual payments from the whole of our Continental debtors would amount to a total of about \$350,000,000 per year for interest and amortization. The burden of payments falls with different weight upon each of the nineteen different debtors. Omitting the possible 5 per cent. that is hopeless of collection, it will be found that respective annual payments due to us from different countries vary in their burden upon them from 2 to 12 per cent. of their governmental income.

An editorial in the *Argonaut* (San Francisco) for November 4 comments favorably on Mr. Hoover's address, and intimates that certain New York bankers doing an international business are anxious that the United States should cancel the debts of our Allies because they (the bankers) have themselves made very considerable loans to various governments in Europe, and the value of the securities resting upon these advances would naturally be enhanced if the war debts were out of the way.

Admitting that an uncollectable debt between individuals may well be written off and forgotten, the *Argonaut* holds that obligations as between nations have another character:

A government acting as a banker for the government of another nation, for reasons of international politics, may not write off even uncollectable debts. Sound policy requires that a creditor nation may legitimately hold whatever actual or potential power there may be incident to the fact that it stands creditor to other nations. It is not necessary that demand for immediate payment shall be made, but it is both legitimate and important that an obligation fairly created be kept alive. It is mere sentimentalism to insist that because a debtor country may not for the moment be able to pay its debts the sponge shall be applied to them.

An Economist's Plea for Cancellation

In the *New York Times* for November 5 Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, analyzes Mr. Hoover's Toledo address, taking issue with each of the Secretary's points. Professor Seligman grants, of course, that there can be no question as to the contractual obligation. The money was borrowed at the request of the Allies; it was loaned in good faith, and it constitutes a valid debt. But is the question of moral obligation the same?

In the first place, contrary to widespread opinion, the loans to the Allies were to an overwhelming extent made during the war itself. Although private individuals loaned money to the belligerents, not a cent was advanced by the Government until we entered the war. And while it is true that comparatively small amounts were lent after the Armistice, those loans were made for expenses contracted during the war.

Of the total amount of about ten billions, there was loaned to Belgium after the signing of the treaty of peace in June, 1919, up to Nov. 15, 1919, only \$3,000,000, and up to Nov. 15, 1920, another \$10,000,000. To France about \$250,000,000 was loaned from the date of the signing of the treaty to Nov. 15, 1919, and another \$110,000,000 in the next year. To Italy between the signing of the treaty and Nov. 15, 1919, the total advances were a little under \$60,000,000, and another \$50,000,000 between that date and Nov. 15, 1920.

What actually happened was that the Allies furnished a huge armed force which only with difficulty withstood the onset of the enemy. In this huge force the human element was represented primarily by France and Italy; the materials were furnished largely by Great Britain, and the food was contributed chiefly by the United States. All three elements were indispensable to the winning of the war; the absence of any of them would have spelled disaster. The mere fact that our chief contribution was rendered in the shape of book credits must not be permitted to obscure the facts.

It is true that we entered the contest with clean hands and with clean hearts; we poured out lavishly our treasures and the lives of our soldiers; we had nothing material to gain from victory and we sedulously refrained from even advancing any claim to the division of the spoils. So far, so good. But consider the other side for a moment.

Mr. Hoover tells us that America did not participate in reparations and acquired no other benefits under the treaty. Is it indeed true that we acquired no benefits from the war? Is not the reverse the fact? While all Europe was in a death grapple we, as the most important neutral, remained aloof and earned incalculable sums.

At the very outset of the war Europe sent us millions of gold to pay for our supplies, and within a short time the flood of materials which we sent abroad created such a prodigious European indebtedness that it changed the United States from the chief debtor nation of the world to the chief creditor nation. The fortunes made in this country were stupendous; wages rose precipitately, and while Europe was in the throes of convulsions we reached the dizzy heights of untold prosperity. Is it, then, fair to urge that we made nothing out of the war?

Professor Seligman points out that while Great Britain was borrowing from us, she was lending still more to France, Italy, Russia and the other Allies. She was able to make these loans because of our advances.

The question, therefore, resolves itself into this: Can the Continental countries pay the debts? Are they in any position to do so?

Mr. Hoover tells us that the interest and amortization charges upon the debts amount to only from 2 to 12 per cent. of their annual income. But if what has just been stated is true, and if our insistence on payment by Great Britain puts her into the unfortunate position of demanding payment from the other Allies, Mr. Hoover's figures must be at least doubled. The Allies will be called upon to pay not from 2 to 12 per cent. of their annual income, but from 4 to 24 per cent. And 24 per cent. cannot be considered a negligible sum, especially when it is the last straw that breaks the camel's back.

Lyman Abbott

ON October 22 last the news of the death of Lyman Abbott at New York brought a sense of personal loss to many thousands of Americans of all ages throughout the land. Although in his eighty-seventh year, Dr. Abbott had been active almost to the last, writing editorials for his paper, the *Outlook*, and addressing eager audiences of college students and other gatherings within a few months of the end.

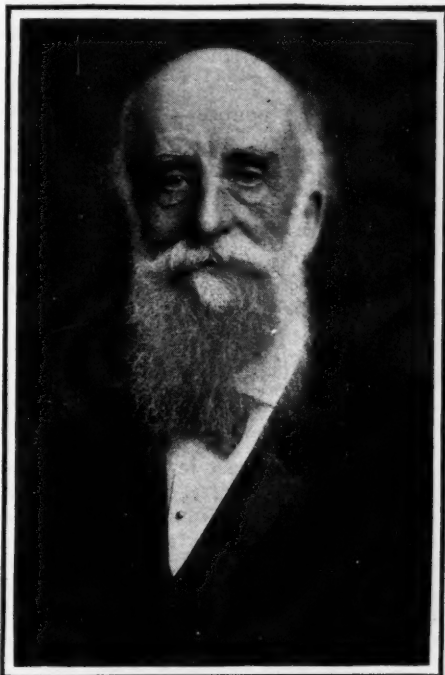
Among the tributes to Dr. Abbott from his editorial associates published in the *Outlook*, those of his two sons have a peculiar interest. Mr. Lawrence F. Abbott, for more than thirty years president of the Outlook Company, speaks of his father as a delightful companion—in the earlier years in pastimes and excursions and even in some of the sports of outdoor life:

For example, he taught his four boys how to swim and was a good swimmer himself. In his later life, up to the very last, I would rather sit *vis-à-vis* with him at the luncheon table than with any man I know—not as son lunching with a father, but as a club companion lunching with a chosen club companion. He was interested in the whole of life, and in every wholesome expression of life, from the "Three Musketeers" of Dumas to William James' "Varieties of Religious Experience." He says somewhere that as a boy and a young man he had an ungovernable temper. Perhaps he had—no, I won't say "perhaps," because I think he never made a statement of fact of which he was not sure. But in fifty years I never saw any display of temper, and I never knew him to say a mean or rankling or biting thing in controversy about anybody. He had vigor and decision and could denounce, but he never indulged in pin-pricks or in sarcasm for the sake of provoking an opponent in a contest.

Mr. Ernest Hamlin Abbott, also of the *Outlook* staff, speaks of his father's lifelong care of a body seemingly frail:

He not only was not athletic; he seemed to me physically weak. And yet, as I look back upon those days, I see that he was doing an extraordinary amount of work requiring frequent draughts upon his reservoirs of nervous and muscular vitality. By his habit of saving his time, by making sure of sufficient sleep—he had trained himself to be able to drop into a nap at any time and under any circumstances—by carefulness in selecting his physicians and following their directions, and by regular recreation in preparation for work, he kept those reservoirs replenished.

This care of his unathletic body was essentially that of a good athlete. It was not for his body's sake; it was for a purpose which he was determined his body should serve. He was in this respect a man's man. As a youth he envied in Beecher the abounding physique that was the opposite of his own; and as an old man he admired in Roosevelt



DR. LYMAN ABBOTT, 1835-1922

the robustness which he himself lacked. He had, however, in common with each this athletic and masculine point of view that regards the body as a means to the attainment of an end through struggle.

The managing editor of the *Outlook*, Mr. Robert D. Townsend, testifies to Dr. Abbott's systematic habits of work:

Few literary workers can accomplish more in a given time and make less fuss about it than could Dr. Abbott. When he was at his desk, he worked smoothly, steadily, and rapidly, without the slightest nervousness or sign of excitement. I have heard many stenographers say that he was the best possible giver of dictation because he did not hurry nor hesitate. When one looks at the long list of books he wrote and recalls the vast number of editorials, reviews, addresses, and sermons he prepared, one might suppose him a slave of work. Not a bit of it; he was a slave to nothing. He was an incomparable manager of his time and effort. He once said that in his work he had two governing principles: "First, not to do anything himself which he could get anyone else to do; second, to take his rest as a preparation to his work, and not as a restorative after it." The first clause must be taken semi-playfully, though he certainly did know how to utilize assistance; the second is eminently characteristic.

In the *Independent* (New York) for November 11 Professor Franklin H. Giddings writes with enthusiasm of Dr. Abbott's championship of the cause of intellectual liberty in the Christian Church:

The charge of heresy left him unruffled. His nature was too sweet for anger. He could "suffer fools gladly" if thereby he could help them to see that the human mind, discovering and applying truth, is the Divine Mind at work in the world, and that the brotherhood of man is a bigger thing than the phrases of a creed or the literalist interpretation of Sacred Books. Probably nobody else was as astonished as he was that the whole world quoted his remark that "He who denies the Brotherhood of Man is as much an infidel as he who denies the Fatherhood of God." What was there novel about

that? Was it not as old as Christ? The doctrine of evolution and the contributions of archaeology, history, and critical scholarship to our knowledge of the Old and New Testaments, he accepted as a matter of course. And even if he had not been able to do so, his sound common sense and his liberality of spirit would have made him denounce as preposterous and immoral the attempts of ignorant bigotry to prevent the teaching and discussion of these matters.

Dr. Abbott's identification of himself with a Christian and common-sense liberalism was bound up with the first two great personal enthusiasms, namely, his affection and admiration for Henry Ward Beecher. His vigorous championing of political progressivism, of courageous public policies, and of an Americanism which has duty as well as opportunity written in it, was bound up with his later affection and admiration for Theodore Roosevelt.

Steeds for Santa Claus

DURING the past few years, the historian of the fate of several of the species of American animals has had so many rather tragic tales to tell, that it is a real relief to relate a story of a very different kind. In his excellent (if somewhat mournful) little book, "Our Vanishing Wild Life" (1913), Dr. William T. Hornaday, director of the New York Zoölogical Park, shows a drawing of a tombstone, which he intimates ought to be erected "sacred to the memory" of some eleven species of American birds (all more beautiful and useful—or harmless—than otherwise) "exterminated by civilized man, 1840-1910." Incidentally, the good doctor had much to do with the saving and perpetuation of the remnant of the herd of that noble and interesting beast, the American bison, which was trembling on the verge of extinction, a few years ago.

The present tale has to do with the preservation by Uncle Sam of the steed of the children's patron saint, to wit the reindeer, which probably was in no immediate danger, because of the climate which he has wisely chosen to select; but nevertheless may be considered to have been threatened by the general advance of the tide of civilization.

The present story is told in the article entitled "The Reindeer Herds of the Pribilof Islands," by Mr. G. Dallas Hanna, in a recent issue of the *Scientific Monthly*. "The domesticated reindeer of Siberia were first introduced into Alaska in 1892 through the efforts of the missionary, Rev. Sheldon Jackson," says Mr. Hanna. "The

total number brought across Bering Sea was but a few more than a thousand when the Russian Government prohibited further exportation. This nucleus has grown enormously, and has been divided into a large number of separate herds. The success of the enterprise is apparently assured for many generations, and the native race of Eskimos was probably saved from extermination through this stroke of philanthropy. The people not only derive food and clothing from the herds, but the meat has been sold in ports as distant as Seattle and San Francisco. Nothing but a brilliant future can be foreseen for the industry at this time."

The interesting development of these experiments Mr. Hanna traces through the article which follows. As he says, most of the Alaska herds have been divided and subdivided to such an extent, and the records are so scattered through Government reports, that it is difficult to secure data on the rates of increase. This, however, is a matter of no little interest in science as well as in industry. He continues:

It so happens that there are two independent herds on the Pribilof, or Fur Seal Islands, which furnish records of considerable value in this respect. Through the efforts of Dr. Barton Warren Evermann, when chief of the Alaska Fisheries Service, herds were started on St. Paul and St. George Islands in 1911. The beginning was made with twenty-five and fifteen deer [reindeer] respectively, and each year a census has been made. The animals practically run wild so that count of the sexes separately has proved impracticable, but the total numbers are very trustworthy.

Mr. Hanna then shows that the herds have increased (respectively on St. Paul and St. George Islands) from twenty-five and fifteen, in 1911, to 250 and 160 in 1921. It is shown that the original herd of twenty-five deer on St. Paul Island has increased to 250. In addition to these, an even hundred have been killed for food. On the smaller island of St. George the original herd of fifteen has increased to 160 and eighty-nine have been killed for food. Thus the total strength of the two herds in 1921 was 350 for St. Paul and 249 for St. George Island. When we consider that the animals have had no care whatsoever that reindeer need, the condition would seem to be very satisfactory indeed.

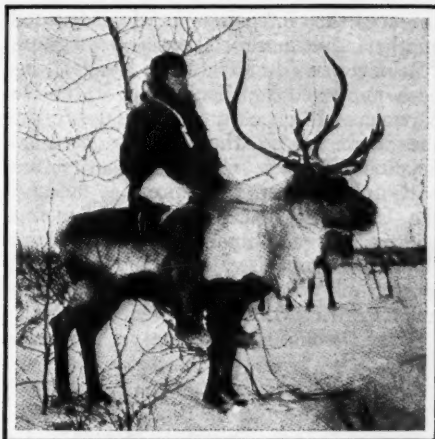
Persons familiar with the raising of these animals in Norway [says Mr. Hanna] state that in ten years the original herds of twenty-five and fifteen would have increased to 500 and 300, respectively, if they had received proper food and care and if the surplus males had been removed. A much larger number could also have been taken for food. Nevertheless, the records possess a peculiar interest because the herds have been allowed to revert to a wild state. The average increase each year has been a little more than 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., when the animals killed are added to those living. It is a little less than that figure when only those living are considered.

As stated above, the reindeer have reverted to the wild state. The business of the inhabitants is the taking of seals and fox skins, and they give little attention to the deer. The animals are never herded or placed in corrals. They resort to the distant parts of the islands where they seldom see human beings and are almost as wary as caribou. No use is made of them at all except for food.

Some of the surplus males are now taken each winter, and the herds show considerable improvement since the practise was started in 1915. . . . Before that time the fighting of the males was a detriment to the herd in several ways. They not only killed or injured each other, but they injured some of the females as well. . . .

As to the already great value of the herds to the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries, which administers the affairs of the islands, there can be no question. Each deer killed is equal in food value to two sheep which are imported at about \$15 per head on the average. Thus the equivalent of about 100 sheep was taken in 1921. The value of this food would seem to warrant the employment of capable herders, and the erection of corrals for the care of the animals. This would not only enable the removal of the correct number of males without the uncertain method of shooting, but would enable the authorities to remove the old and useless females, as any wide-awake stockman would do.

If the herds continue to increase during the next ten years as they have in the past ten, there should



A DOMESTICATED CARIBOU IN ALASKA

(From "The Northward Course of Empire," by V. Stefansson)

be about 2500 deer on St. Paul Island in 1931, and about 1600 on St. George. So large prospective numbers should receive care and attention, because the annual increment will furnish a supply of excellent fresh meat sufficient to supply all the needs of the islands for many years.

Since the reindeer depend upon slow growing lichens, the familiar reindeer "moss," for food in winter, care must be taken to see that the herds do not increase beyond the supplies of these plants. The islands are small and not all of the surfaces are suitable for grazing by any means. It has been stated that this "moss" on the mainland of Alaska replaces itself in about seven years. Observations made by me on the Pribilofs indicate that it grows more rapidly. Areas completely denuded in 1914 were regrown by 1919. The difference in the rate of growth is believed to be due to the longer growing season on the Pribilofs and the much damper climate.

One of the most important questions to be solved in connection with the Pribilof herds is the determination of the maximum number which can be supported. The Government should determine this before it is too late. With competent herders in charge of the animals it would not be difficult.

These herds are under particularly fine circumstances for observation and study. The most distant part of the island can easily be reached in a day by a man on foot. Strict control is constantly maintained by the agents of the Government; or at any rate it can be maintained when desired. More is known of the wild life of the reservation than of any other similar area in our northern territory. It would seem that here is the place to maintain model reindeer herds, and to determine many needed facts for the propagation of these animals on a large scale. At no other place are conditions so favorable. The animals have no enemies on the islands. Dogs are not permitted to be landed and mosquitoes or other injurious insects are absent. By some queer but fortunate turn of fate, ticks or parasitic flies were not imported with the original shipment. No new stock has been brought in, so breeding and crossing could here be studied to the greatest advantage.

Since the foregoing article appeared, another still more elaborate monograph, "Reindeer in Alaska" (60 odd pages), has been published by the United States Department of Agriculture. This represents the work among the reindeer herds of Seymour Hadwin, chief veterinarian and parisotologist, and Lawrence J. Palmer, of the U. S. Biological Survey. Numerous photographs accompany the text. Additional copies of this valuable and interesting monograph will be supplied by the Government Printing Office at 25 cents (cash).

Even the most casual observer must note

the striking resemblance between the reindeer and our common woodland caribou, and it is easy to believe that an even stronger similarity may have existed in comparatively recent (geologic) times. The woodland caribou is not uncommon in New Brunswick, even to-day—the present writer has come across its freshly made tracks in that forest within the last few years. Both types of deer have the same general demeanor, and a closer study of the reindeer doubtless would reveal many closer resemblances in our recently imported friend of technically Asiatic origin.

The New Rent Law in Spain and the Housing Problem

RENTS in Madrid have always been high in proportion to those in other European capitals, but they rose to staggering heights in the war decade between 1910 and 1920. In 1910 the sum total of Madrid rents was estimated at about 76,000,000 pesetas a year, exclusive of the rents of shops. In 1920 over 116,000,000 pesetas was paid.

And this has taken place in spite of the excellent law which was passed over a year ago and which is reviewed in *Estudio*. This law provided that rents in capitals of provinces and towns of more than 20,000 inhabitants, which had not been raised since December 31, 1914, could be raised according to the following scale:

Rents below 1500 pesetas annually, increase of 10 per cent.

Rents between 1800 to 3000 pesetas, increase of 15 per cent.

Rents from 3000 up, 20 per cent.

This scale is subject to change if improvements have been made contributing to the health and hygiene of the tenants, or if there has been a considerable increase of the ground rent.

The tenants of apartments or houses built in these towns since 1914 may petition the courts for reduction of their rents if they believe them excessive, and the principles of the clause applying to older houses are rigorously applied to such complaints, as well as to increases in rent demanded by the landlord. The landlord is not allowed to ask more than a month's rent as security if the rent is paid by the month,

or a quarter's rent if it be paid in quarterly instalments. The stipulations of the law hold good if the house changes ownership, while leases not in conformity to its spirit are null and void.

The rent cases are tried before the Municipal Court Judge of the district with two referees who are house-owners and taxpayers of more than four years' residence in the district and two reputable referees appointed by the tenant. The landlord is given twenty-four hours to reconsider his demands and, if recalcitrant, the case is tried within forty-eight hours and decision must be made either the same day or the next thereafter! The court must at the same time have the premises inspected and make a report as to their condition, from the view of hygiene and public health, to the medical authorities.

In Madrid, according to *Nuestro Tiempo*, housing was inadequate in 1910. Other European cities had a house for every eight to sixteen inhabitants, but Madrid had only one for every 43.34. Barcelona had one for every 16.16, Valencia one for 13.20, Seville one for 11.02; Zaragoza one for 13.67; and Murcia one for 5.24.

Added to this crowding, from 1916 to 1920, there were 1621 fewer houses built in Madrid than for the period from 1911 to 1916. We must consider that Madrid had a population of 584,117 souls in 1910, and in 1920, 671,175. So there was an increase of 56,100 inhabitants, while there was an increase of only 1485 houses. One house was therefore built for every 37.7 natives,

so that 6250 houses should have been built instead of 1485.

One good point must be noted. The old houses in Madrid are so unsanitary and crowded that they resemble the peasant houses in Sweden and Denmark, where cupboards are opened in the walls at bedtime. For the rest of the time the Madrileños of the lower and middle classes seem to possess

the apartment in a primitive spirit of open doors and no privacy equaled only by our log cabin of frontier or mountain districts. Typhoid fever, due largely to overcrowding and bad sanitary conditions, typhus, and smallpox, claim heavy tolls of victims every summer, and the clause in the new law directed at the high mortality rate will benefit not only the natives but the stranger.

Italy's New Leader

ON OCTOBER 30, after a bloodless revolution, a new cabinet was formed in Italy, headed by Signor Benito Mussolini as Premier, holding also the portfolios of Foreign Affairs and the Interior. This was indeed a remarkable personal triumph for Mussolini, who up to the outbreak of the Great War had been a Socialist. In order to obtain an outline of his views on public affairs a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* interviewed Signor Mussolini shortly before his accession to power.

Before the war Mussolini had been editor of *Avanti*, the official organ of the Italian Socialist Party. But when he lost faith in internationalism, he left that journal and

later was expelled from the Socialist Party. He then founded the *Popolo d'Italia*, and advocated Italian intervention on the side of the Allies. He entered the army as corporal of the Bersaglieri. His leadership in the new party formed after the war to combat the Socialists, is reviewed elsewhere in this number by Mr. Simonds.

To the *Guardian* correspondent Signor Mussolini admitted that the disturbances in Italy have created an unfavorable impression in foreign countries, and have tended to mislead opinion as to the true intentions of the Fascisti. He himself, he said, was keenly desirous of peace and reconstruction. He feels that Italy needs



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PREMIER MUSSOLINI WITH A GROUP OF HIS "BLACK-SHIRT" FOLLOWERS

to get back to work, but Fascist intervention was necessary in order to clear the ground.

"Our subsequent policy will be inspired by the love of our country and of the working people. We shall call a general election as soon as peace and normal activity have been restored. I feel certain, however, that the Government will realize our strength and our single-minded desire to attain peace and freedom for all, and for every political party. The present Chamber of Deputies, then, must be dissolved; our party will emerge victorious from the polling. As soon as we are in power we shall proceed to carry out our program."

"At present," I asked, "you have thousands of armed followers, the so-called 'Black Shirts.' How could you reconcile the existence of two armies—the regular army and your 'Black Shirts'—if you were the head or even a member of the Government?"

"As a member of a Cabinet with a Fascist program I should at once intimate to the Italian people that bloodshed must cease. Everyone must work and act for the welfare of the country. There will be no reason for the continued existence of the 'Black Shirt' army. They must obey my orders and keep the peace. In common with all other Italian citizens they must abandon political antagonisms in order to serve the great common cause, the welfare of our beloved country."

"What will be your home and foreign policy?"

"I love the working classes. The supreme ambition and the dearest hope of my life has been, and

is still, to see them better treated and enjoying conditions of life worthy of the citizens of a great nation. They have a just claim to humane conditions and to a reward proportionate to their labor. But men have duties as well as rights. I do not believe in the class war, but in coöperation between classes. The Fascist Government will devote all its efforts to the creation of an agrarian democracy based on the principle of small ownership. The great estates must be handed over to peasant communities; the great capitalists of agriculture must submit to a process of harmonization of their rights with those of the peasants.

"In foreign policy we shall be good friends with all those nations which are worthy of our friendship; but we shall be bitter enemies of those nations which will not realize that Italy will never assert aims conflicting with the rights of other peoples."

"What will be your program for improving the financial situation of the country?"

"The most energetic measures will be taken to deal with the financial situation. We must spend less and earn more. The budget will be balanced as speedily as possible. We cannot afford to import thousands of tons of wheat every year. The people must eat less bread. All state expenditure must be ruthlessly cut down. Our motto will be the utmost economy. If the situation should call for it we shall return to the war-time system of bread cards.

"Personally I am not longing for power. I am not so foolish as to desire office from personal ambition. I know I am a very prominent leader in Italian politics. There is no need for me to become a Minister, a Premier, in order to exercise my authority."

Does the Mockster Mock?

IN the strictly scientific magazine of western ornithology, the *Condor* (published at Pasadena, Calif.,) appeared (in the September-October issue) a rather technical but thoughtfully presented consideration of this interesting question, by Donald R. Dickey. In the case of a certain mocker, which had been heard to reproduce the notes of the sparrow hawk, the killdeer and the cactus wren, Mr. Dickey asks, "may not this be a case of parallel ability and adventitious similarity rather than individual mimicry?" He considers it possible that the repetition of other bird's notes by the mocker may be "induced parallelism, rather than true mimesis." He continues:

We have all heard bird notes that resembled those of insects which were vocal at the same time and place, but we do not suggest that one learned from the other! The sound of the rattlesnake has no connection with the "rattle-weed" save in similarity, and sometimes fortuitous propinquity. Admit that the insect vocalization *might* activate the grasshopper sparrow, the weed *might* activate the rattler, —then, by the same token, the killdeer *might* activate, but not teach, the mockingbird. . .

Experience with caged birds might argue against

this perhaps fanciful hypothesis, for "teachers" are employed, I believe, to develop the maximum purity of tone and variety in "Roller" canaries. But is not this purely for the purpose of ultra-refinement? Every child has an inherent capacity for running and leaping of a very creditable sort, yet a pacemaker is necessary to develop a winning athlete in an Olympic track meet. In summing up, then, no claim is made that the perfection of the mocker's so-called "imitation" is attained without examples to copy—without oral assistance—but the suggestion is made that the basic phrases of a mockingbird's vocabulary which stimulate the notes of other birds may well be as intrinsic a part of his transmitted vocal ability as are those other interludes which have no analogies among other species.

But if, as Mr. Dickey seems to be arguing, the mocker's throat is full of all kinds of natural sounds (so to speak), but he merely fires them off at random, with no idea of imitating anything, but *happens* to reproduce the notes of a blue jay, who chances to be calling at the moment, how does it happen that he at once changes his note, and keeps changing it (as the present writer has heard him do) until he has caught the precise tone of the jay?

Why the Little Entente?

THE first number of *Foreign Affairs*, a quarterly published under the auspices of the Council on Foreign Relations (New York), contains valuable articles on foreign politics and international relations. One of these, which may serve to indicate as clearly as any the dignity and character of the enterprise, is a contribution by the Premier of Czechoslovakia, Eduard Benes, entitled "The Little Entente." Since Dr. Benes, as the representative of Czechoslovakia, was identified from the beginning with the movement that became known as the Little Entente, his statements regarding its purpose and aims are in the highest degree authoritative.

In 1919, when Hungary had become the center of a reactionary monarchistic movement, having the restoration of the Hapsburgs as its aim, Czechoslovakia had protested to the Peace Conference, and the Supreme Council had announced Allied opposition to a Hapsburg government in Hungary. This action checked but did not put an end to the propaganda, and in 1920 Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia concluded a defensive convention, providing that the two states should mutually help each other in case of an unprovoked attack by Hungary. In the following year Rumania joined in the obligation.

Defense against Hungary, however, was only a part of the real meaning of the alliance. During the negotiations leading up to the defensive agreement there emerged the question of establishing a Central European group, which while carrying out the work of its own consolidation should aid the general task of reconstruction.

The task was conceived in a very real and practical sense and in the clear consciousness that it could not be accomplished at a stroke, but only step by step. The evolution of the Little Entente itself is a proof of this fact. In its first stage it was composed of Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia alone and its aims were summed up in the defensive treaty against Hungary. Rumania was joined up with these two only by means of negotiations which took place among the statesmen of the three countries, and through a verbal acknowledgment that in the event of a fight against Magyar aggression there would be a strong community of interest. It was not until April 23, 1921, that a treaty was concluded between the three. The narrow, formal contents of the accord between the three Central European states was supplemented by an ever-growing political harmony in all that concerned the fundamental problems of Central Europe. Not

only did there exist an identity of opinion as regards relations with Hungary—all three states desired to be on the very best terms with Hungary—but there was a general accord on the Central European problem as a whole, especially as regards the effort to restore the Hapsburg monarchy under the cloak of a "Danubian Federation." And, what was most important of all, there was absolute unanimity as to the aims and methods of a common policy—a unanimity which bestowed on the Little Entente its European significance and enabled it to fulfill its general political mission.

After the alliance had been formed several of the neighboring states adjusted their relations with its members and thus were in a measure drawn into the inner circle. Thus an agreement was reached between Italy and Jugoslavia in the Treaty of Rapallo. Czechoslovakia and Italy joined in a similar understanding in the matter of common defense against attempts at Hapsburg restoration. A treaty concluded a year ago between Poland and Czechoslovakia recognized the territories of the two states, as defined in the peace treaties, and provided for mutual neutrality and the settlement of disputes by arbitration. A little later a similar treaty was concluded with Austria.

There can be no doubt about the political meaning of the coöperation with the Little Entente of these three states. Central Europe ceases to be a scene of political chaos and is growing into a firm structure consolidated along the lines laid down by the peace treaties—a structure whose central point is the alliance formed by Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Rumania.

It is true that there is one gap in the structure. Hungary still stands outside. She has excluded herself by virtue of her policy, directed as it is against the security of her neighbors. There is little doubt that this isolation cannot be permanent, and that Hungary too will one day take the place in this Central European peace bloc which is hers both politically and economically.

The significance of the Little Entente for peace and consolidation would not, of course, have been fully grasped if that group had confined itself solely to its political program and had not demonstrated its no less important economic aspect. The consultations which preceded and which accompanied the negotiations for political agreement among the states of the Little Entente and the states associated with them, contributed substantially to facilitating and accelerating agreement on economic matters as well. They went hand in hand with them, supplemented, extended and indeed practically evoked them.

From the beginning the Little Entente policy has included economic agreements, collaboration and mutual help.

The Work of the Agricultural Explorer

THE great work of plant introduction, as carried on by the United States Department of Agriculture, is described in the *Popular Science Monthly* (New York) by Mr. E. L. Jones, his article being the result of an interview with the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Wallace. That the Government employs a little band of agricultural explorers—"Columbuses of the plant world," Mr. Jones calls them—to ransack the globe for vegetable products suitable for introduction into this country, is a fact unknown to many citizens who benefit by the work of these tireless travelers. A still greater portion of the public will doubtless be surprised to learn that these explorers have, within the past 25 years, sent to our country more than 51,000 lots of grains, fruits, forage crops, vegetables and other plants regarded as worthy of the attention of American plant breeders and experimenters. Says the writer:

Despite myriad dangers, the intrepid plant hunters of the United States Department of Agriculture are constantly penetrating the wildernesses of Africa, China, Manchuria, the Philippines, South America, Egypt, and elsewhere, veritably combing these distant regions for samples of native plant treasures that may be introduced to America and tested out on our soil. If the new products are found satisfactory, they are added as permanent assets to our crop schedules in those sections of the country where they prosper. *The range of climatic, soil, and topographical conditions in the United States is so wide and varied that practically every crop or plant that can be grown anywhere else in the world can be raised successfully in some part of the United States.* Some of our agricultural lands that previously were relatively cheap and unimportant, have been made valuable as a consequence of the introduction of certain foreign crops that were found to be ideally adapted to the particular soil and climate of the region.

Farmers in the north plains States (North and South Dakota, western Minnesota and Montana) depend largely on the high-yielding durum wheat that was first introduced from Russia (it constitutes 15 per cent. of the spring wheat crop). The area devoted to this crop averages $3\frac{1}{2}$ million acres. In 1921 it was almost five million. In the past five years, the quantity raised annually has ranged from 26,000,000 to 50,000,000 bushels. The average annual production, at one dollar a bushel, would amount to \$40,000,000.

California is now able to market in excess of 13,000,000 boxes of navel oranges annually, as a result of the introduction of this fruit from Brazil. Our average Japanese rice crop of over 47,000,000 bushels, in the past three years, is valued at an average of \$16,000,000 a year. The comparatively small sum that the Government spent in studying, introducing and establishing this industry was well invested.

Corn would never grow satisfactorily in the southwestern and plains States. The importation of Sudan grass, and of grain sorghums, including kafir, milo and feterita—drought-resisting grain crops—found and introduced by Uncle Sam's plant hunters—now enables farmers in these semi-arid regions to grow about \$105,000,000 worth of these crops annually. Egyptian cotton, introduced by the same agencies, yields annually approximately 17,500,000 pounds of lint valued at over \$6,000,000 by Arizona and California growers.

These are but a few of the many foreign crops and fruits that have been established in this country through the crop introduction activities of the Department of Agriculture.

Dr. David Fairchild, in charge of the Office of Seed and Plant Introduction, who has done more than anybody else in this country to vary the bill-of-fare of the American people, complains that a great many excellent new vegetable foods are neglected by the public. Here is a partial enumeration:

Guatemalan avocado, a fruit more nourishing than bread or rice; Guatemalan chayote, a vegetable resembling our squash; dasheen from the West Indies, a potato-like root crop that grows in sections of the South where potatoes will not thrive; Colombian giant blackberry, the world's largest edible berry, growing to a length of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; Andes berry, like the raspberry in growth, with fruit resembling our blackberry; Andean cherry, large and sweet; pejobaye, a Costa Rican plum, the size of an apricot and resembling the chestnut in character and flavor; telfaeria, a gourd seed from German East Africa, about one inch in diameter and tasting like our butternut; soy bean from China and Japan, nutritious, rich in oil, with nutty flavor; Indian mango, a fruit with combination apricot and pineapple flavor.

One of the chief original promoters of the beneficent work here described was Mr. Barbour Lathrop, of San Francisco.

In addition to his individual work in discovering and introducing many foreign plants, nuts, and fruits into this country, Mr. Lathrop, in company with David Fairchild, now chief of the office, traveled at Mr. Lathrop's expense for three years through many countries, collecting new plants and laying the groundwork for future broad and constructive effort.

One of the first of the exploring scientists, Frank N. Meyer, finally lost his life in the service, after passing through experiences that would match the tales of a soldier of fortune. In the nine years spent in China, Siberia, Turkestan and Korea, he walked over 10,000 miles in search of agricultural gems. Alone and miles from help he fought off Chinese ruffians who sought to hinder his work. For from six to eight months he traveled through the wilderness without seeing another white man. During this time he gathered and transmitted to

Washington thousands of plants that have enriched many farmers.

His invaluable work was suddenly terminated by his accidental drowning while en route home, but the memory of his achievements is kept fresh in the minds of other workers in the service by the "Frank N. Meyer Medal" awarded annually by the American Genetic Association for the most outstanding achievement in plant introduction work.

Dr. H. L. Shantz, another of the leading agricultural explorers, has invaded the innermost jungles of darkest Africa, on a 9000-mile trip, in many respects the most remarkable ever made by one of Uncle Sam's plant hunters. Personally, he has sent in 1600 specimens of various kinds of African fruits, nuts, sorghums, and other unusual horticultural products.

In Cape Colony Doctor Shantz obtained cuttings of the speckboom, a forage crop that gives evidences of adaptation to culture under Californian conditions; and he collected also many samples of forage and desert plants that thrive under African arid land conditions, and that may be of importance in vegetating our Western ranges.

Still another globe-circling tour of the type that our agricultural explorers frequently make was a recent expedition of Dr. J. F. Rock to Burma, to obtain the seed of the real chaulmugra tree. From this tree comes chaulmugra oil, from which is derived the only cure so far found for leprosy.

After many false quests in different parts of Burma, where he found numerous so-called chaulmugra trees, but few that were bearing the essential fruit and seed, Doctor Rock was finally successful in gathering enough of these remarkable seeds to establish plantations in Hawaii.

While these scientists were searching for their objects in Africa and Burma, Mr. Wilson Popenoe was currying the paths and byways of Guatemala, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Chile for other plant treasures. During a journey of 6000 miles he secured 23 new varieties of avocados, or alligator pears, also the pejbaye, an American cousin of the Egyptian date palm; the Colombian giant blackberry, a "white blackberry," several different kinds of South American peaches and apples, a remarkable dwarf orange, and a new type of wild potato.

Portugal's Losses in the World War

ENGLAND'S century-old ally, Portugal, did yeoman service at her section of the front in France; but in these days of sordid reckoning of the costs it would seem that the Portuguese will have a formidable debt to pay for their generous fidelity. Senhor Anselmo de Andrade, in a brochure of *O Instituto*, declares that if the Portuguese finances were bad before the war they are now in the worst possible shape. The trade deficit grew to alarming figures and the cost of living has been tripled. Financially, the debt exceeds the income twice and a new debt of 700,000 contos has been incurred. And to meet this crisis nothing better has been devised than the ceaseless issue of paper money.

Senhor de Andrade writes:

As a matter of fact, all the woes of Portugal come from the trade deficit. The high cost of living, the growth of the public debt, the fall of the exchange rate are all due to it, and it should have been fought by increased labor and production. But just at this moment the Ministry decided to decree an eight-hour work day which decreased our production when an increase was most urgent. Economy was also imperative, but the public disbursements were tripled. The last budget before the war was 73,000 contos and the first after the armistice rose to 222,000 contos.

A great deal of gambling on the Stock Exchange was a natural reaction after the gloom of the war period and the banks also engaged in the floating of doubtful enterprises. Profiteers and paupers alike threw away money recklessly, selling anything they had in the competition of prodigality.

As less work was done, products were fewer and more expensive, while wages had to go up to meet the increased cost of living. And as on one hand the employees had to demand wages out of all proportion to the value of their products and the employers had to demand prices to compensate them for the high wages, the cost of all living necessities rose. If the wages were not conceded strikes were declared, with loss of production and rise of prices for commodities. Thus the solution of the problem of the trade deficit is rendered increasingly difficult by the conduct of our ministry, employers, workmen and the new rich. The last are not the least guilty. Their entrance on the scene is not surprising, whether they rouse our envy, laughter or indignation. They are a product of vicious and decadent plutocracies. There are portraits in Petronius' satires which resemble to the life some of our mushroom capitalists. Many who were satisfied with their life of the well-to-do middle class are running into debt and spending their capital and gambling in stocks. This loss of national reserves and lack of thrift is grave enough, but the laboring classes are also influenced disastrously by it. The demands of labor and the revolutionary character of their claims would never have become so acute without the idleness and provocative ostentation of the new rich.

As the government had to meet its war expenses, it made paper money by the bushel. The bank notes before the war were only 100,000 contos, while they are now 400,000 with only a third gold guarantee. Brazilian and Argentine money which was formerly only half the value of ours is now rated as high. The only remedy to this crisis would be to destroy the notes as they return to the bank until their circulation is reduced to the former limit, but this measure would require a loan or a surplus in the income of the budget, which is scarcely to be expected when there is a certain deficit of 116,000 contos.

Senhor de Andrade concludes that the peace which should have been the recompense was a further penance for Portugal. The result is a greater penury in the treasury

and a very great financial disorder among all classes of Portuguese society. The country is paying dearly for its chivalric rally to an old tradition.

The Technique of the Safe-Breaker

THE history of the long contest between safe-makers and safe-breakers is most entertainingly told in the two last numbers of the *Scientific American* (New York) by Mr. Edward H. Smith, one of our leading authorities on criminals and their ways, of whom it is said that he has been personally acquainted with every prominent bank criminal in the country. The contest has been a struggle of wits, in which an immense amount of technical skill has been displayed on both sides. The varying fortunes of this conflict have been analogous to those of the contest between armor-makers and projectile-makers in the realm of another kind of warfare.

Thirty years ago the approved method of opening a safe was to drill a hole in its soft steel wall and insert a charge of powder. The case-hardened steel safe made this method obsolete, though there are fiction-writers of to-day who fondly imagine that it still prevails. The triumph of the safe-builder was, however, short-lived. The next stage in the struggle was marked by the introduction into the art of safe-breaking of nitro-glycerine, called "soup" in the argot of crime, applied by the type of cracksman who came to be known as a "yegg." The drill was discarded; a little "soup," allowed to seep into any handy crevice, was exploded by a detonating cap, and this procedure was repeated as often as necessary to blast away the steel barriers piece by piece. The process was slow but sure. At the cost of much disastrous experience the yeggs learned how to make nitro-glycerine from dynamite, carry it safely in rubber bottles, and apply it in proper doses by means of a cup of putty or soap stuck to the safe.

The next step in the safe-breaker's progress was no less revolutionary. We read:

About fifteen years ago, when nitro-glycerine was already giving officers, bankers and safe-makers more than they wanted to deal with, reports began to come in of the burning open of safes by means of

the oxyacetylene torch. There had been a bruit of this thing for some time before and the safe-makers had been at work upon safes which might resist the fiery tongue of this new technical implement.

For a number of years the success of the acetylene torch against modern safes seemed to be in doubt, but this was not due in any way to the successful measures of safe manufacturers but to the fact that an effective torch and its tanks of oxygen and acetylene gas form a heavy and unwieldy contrivance, not easily carried about without attracting attention. This fault limited the use of this new technical device of the robbers and still limits it to some extent, though the burglars have managed to reduce the size and weight of their outfits greatly. However, the torch has been applied to safes with disconcerting success in all parts of the country. The police blotters and reports of the bankers' associations will demonstrate this beyond dispute.

When events showed the manufacturers that the torch would bite through any of the safes in existence, they set themselves to the task of making a new box which would resist heat sufficiently to foil the robbers. The fundamental mistake in this line of experimentation must be apparent to the least technical mind. The steel which goes into the making of a safe must be fused, cast and forged, no matter what special ingredients it may contain to contribute to its high fusion point. It is certainly no feat of logic to reason that whatever may be fused once may be fused again and it is, of course, a fact that the welding torch develops temperatures quite high enough to melt any steel known. Nevertheless, a series of so-called manganese steel safes was issued and sold to many bankers under the claim that they could not be melted with the oxyacetylene torch or that, owing to their special structure, they could not be melted without destroying the contents, in which case the burglars would leave them alone.

The safe which cannot be melted with the torch is as much a chimera as were those early safes with special packing that was to foil the old powder man's drill. The solution of the safe-maker's problem does not lie in high-fusion-point metal. What the acetylene flame will not do the electric welding-torch certainly will accomplish, and burglars may find ways of employing it sooner than is pleasant to contemplate.

While it is true that the acetylene torch will melt away any metal practicable for safes it is also a fact that the best and latest kinds of safe and vault doors are so heavy and so well constructed that the torch man cannot enter them in the time allowed him for a burglary, *i. e.*, between Saturday night and Monday morning. Experiments made on behalf of the Federal Reserve Bank at Washington showed that a metal called infusite, a special cast iron alloyed with copper, resisted the torch seven times as long as ordinary steel, and vault doors made of this

substance have been employed by the Government. The makers, however, do not claim that the torch will not melt infusite. They simply put their faith, as do the makers of the screwdoor safe, in big, heavy, expensive equipment, too ponderous for the cracksmen or torchmen to manage in the time nature gives him.

Safe manufacturers had seen that the only real hope of defeating the burglars lay in very large and heavy steel boxes, which because of their very ponderousness could not be opened with either nitro or the torch in the few hours allowed the robber for his work. As a result of experimentation along this line there was gradually evolved what is commonly termed the screwdoor safe. There are various makes of this kind of strongbox and several special styles. I do not know that one is better than another and I speak of the screwdoor safe as a type, not as the product of any one maker. Such great costly safes began to find their way into the larger banks a good many years ago, but their high price kept them out of the rustic financial houses until most recent times, when the safe-makers began to construct somewhat more economical models and the bankers began to see that nothing else was worth while. To-day the screwdoor safe has been

introduced all over the country and banks not so equipped are rare.

Thanks to this invention, it appears that, for the time being, the safe-builder has triumphed over the yegg, but the results of his victory entail consequences that are decidedly disconcerting to the law-abiding part of the public. In the period just following the Civil War attacks on banks in broad daylight were very prevalent, especially in the West. To-day we are witnessing a vigorous revival of such bank banditry.

Many old yeggs, unable to combat the screwdoor safes, have tossed away their rubber bottles of nitro and picked up the bandit's revolver. But, unlike their notorious forebears, they do not go after country banks and ride to cover in the wilderness of the hills and forests on horseback. Instead they raid the banks of cities, even those of New York itself (as in the Hamby case in Brooklyn, three years ago), and dash to the cover of urban jungles in motor cars.

The Influence of Ultra-Violet Rays on the Eyes

EVERY new force which man discovers in nature has potentialities of ill as well as of good and of nothing is this more true than of the mysterious invisible rays of various sorts of whose existence we have learned only in the last two or three decades, and whose nature is still under investigation. Among the most interesting of these are the ultra-violet rays. Serious warning as to the injury these are capable of causing to the human eye is uttered by Dr. Alois Czepa, who does not hesitate to declare that many cases of cataract are thus occasioned. Writing in a late number of *Kosmos* (Stuttgart), he says:

The short-waved ultra-violet rays having a wave length of 300 millionths of a millimetre downward are insupportable by organic substances, as is plainly shown by their effect on plant tissues and the human skin. They injure organic tissue and eventually destroy it. . . . The electric arc light, which is especially rich in U-V rays occasions violent inflammation of the eye, which should be shielded from them by glasses. Even when thus filtered such light contains a considerable quantity of short-waved U-V rays.

Dr. Czepa calls attention to the fact that the employees in glass works are almost never subject to similar inflammations of the eye but that, on the other hand, they are strikingly subject to the affection of the lens commonly known as cataract. But the light which proceeds from molten glass is

lacking in short-waved U-V rays, only the long-waved U-V rays being found in its spectrum. Since glass-blowers as a rule wear no glasses, they are exposed to these long-waved rays. Because of the fact that the crystalline lens is yellowish in tint, it absorbs blue and violet rays and above all, ultra-violet rays. The crystalline lens is also a fluorescent body. Apropos of this Dr. Czepa says:

If the light of an arc light in a dark room be allowed to fall upon the crystalline lens of an eye after passing through a sheet of dark blue glass the lens will fluoresce brilliantly. By fluorescence is meant the peculiar self luminescence of certain bodies under the influence of light. For example, if petroleum is placed in the sunlight it shows a bluish shimmer but if before falling upon the petroleum the sunlight is first made to pass through a flask, likewise filled with the petroleum, this blue shimmer will be lacking. Obviously the rays which occasion the fluorescence are now missing. If petroleum is made to fluoresce under violet light and the blue fluorescent light is then examined by a spectroscope, we find in it besides blue rays red, yellow and green rays which, together, yield the blue light. Hence it must be true that the short-waved violet rays which have penetrated the petroleum have been transformed into long-waved rays.

Another property of fluorescent substances, among which may be mentioned chlorophyll, quinine, and certain dye-stuffs such as eosin, is that they increase the degree of sensitiveness to light, for which reason they are called sensitizers. Thus

photographic plates are saturated with eosin in order to make them sensitive to the red rays. Again chlorophyll makes the albumen of the cell sensitive to daylight and thus renders possible the chemical processes which take place in green leaves. Correspondingly we learn:

The crystalline lens of the eye absorbs short-waved rays and fluoresces daily throughout the entire life. But this fluorescence is unable to take place without causing some sort of change in the substance. . . . The lens of the eye has neither nerves nor blood vessels. Therefore reactions which occur in it can not be gotten rid of as in the rest of the organism. Hence they occasion alterations which gradually accumulate.

Every crystalline lens undergoes alterations in the course of its life which become chiefly apparent in a hardening of the nucleus of the lens—the far-sightedness of old age. In extreme old age and still earlier in many people these alterations create cataract. If we examine the lens in persons of different ages we find that the relation between the soluble and insoluble albumens which compose it has changed, the percentage of the latter being increased. If the crystalline lens of an animal's eye be exposed to a quartz lamp, (which sends out a large quantity of U-V rays), it undergoes alterations which resemble those of the lens in old age (the senile lens).

From such experiments and other known facts the conclusion has been reached that the alteration of the lens is closely connected with the rays of light which fall upon it and, furthermore, that it is particularly the long-waved non-inflammatory rays which cause cataract. The interesting point is made by this authority that the light from glass furnaces does not cause inflammation of the eye as does that from ordinary furnaces (since it is very poor in U-V rays of short-wave length) but, on the other hand, because of its richness in U-V rays of long-wave length it causes a cloudiness of the lens which eventually produces cataract. He next discusses the question as to whether diffused or ordinary daylight is capable of producing such alterations in the lens. He remarks that the greater the depth of atmosphere penetrated by the light of the sun the greater the dispersion of the U-V rays and the greater the diminution of the short-waved rays, as a result of which the long-waved U-V rays preponderate in daylight. But it has been determined that old-age cataract begins in most cases in the lower, inner quarter of the lens. This is significant since if we consider how the rays fall upon our eye we find that the light from the sky falls directly upon the lower quarters of the eye whereas the upper quarters are reached by the rays reflected from the

earth; but this latter light has lost nearly all its U-V rays, since it is reflected light and every reflection shortens the spectrum chiefly at the short-waved end. Furthermore, Dr. Czepa reminds us:

The outer lower quarter of the lens receives fewer of the rays coming from the sky than the lower inner quarter, since the latter is somewhat sheltered by the upper edge of the eye socket and by the bridge of the nose. The total light of the sky reaches only the lower, inner quarter of the eye. But since it is just here that we find the beginning of old age cataract this furnishes a pretty strong indication of a connection between the two.

Further support of this view is found, according to the writer, in the fact that in India, where the light is stronger and the people are outdoors more than in colder climates, cataract is much more frequent and likewise begins at an earlier age. This malady is also especially frequent on plains, such as the Hungarian plains. Examination shows, however, that the crystalline lens does not absorb all of the U-V rays, a part of them succeeding in reaching the retina, in which they may cause changes in the course of a lifetime; such changes are found especially often in eyes in which the lens has remained remarkably clear, which indicates that there is a certain contrast between old age cataract and senile change in the center of the retina, some eyes being more subject to the one and vice versa. As a matter of fact this injurious alteration in the retina is especially marked in those eyes in which the crystalline lens has been removed because of cataract. This injury to the retina is chiefly noticeable in the greatly lessened power of vision in the dark. Such disturbances of the retina are also found especially in persons who are obliged to do much work by artificial light.

In conclusion Dr. Czepa observes that while we can do little to prevent the alterations in the eye caused by daylight, we can and should take measures to avoid injury from artificial light by wearing glasses specially constructed to eliminate the U-V rays. Ordinary glass is not capable of doing this. Ordinary blue and green glasses are not much better, since a large percentage of the U-V rays succeeds in getting through them. A special glass particularly adapted to the elimination of these rays should be used, such as the "Euphosglas" made by Schanz which cuts off nearly all of the invisible rays in the spectrum, which is, unfortunately, not being manufactured at present.

The Perfecting of International Organizations

IN a recent number of the *Revue Mondaine* (Paris) M. Gaston Sauvebois takes a large, philosophic view of this supreme present and future problem.

The opening note is at least hopeful:

There is, after all, a certain change in the life of the peoples, since the war. Events occur of which we do not always realize either the importance or the novelty. Formerly each nation lived for itself alone, behind its physical, intellectual and moral boundaries. Now, not one seems willing to remain isolated. Great and small are drawn into the international current.

Yet the writer is frankly and utterly dissatisfied with the actual results attained by the League of Nations, the Supreme Council, the conferences between prime ministers or ambassadors, and the special conferences at Washington, Genoa, The Hague—toward creation of the "European and even the world life which will hereafter hold the front on the stage of History." It becomes clear that he regards such a unified life of all as the only chance for a restoration and continuance of endurable conditions.

Men's eyes are generally fixed, and rightly, on the economic problem, as properly including and easily dominating all merely political questions. The fact is deplored that the international conferences, especially, have been wholly controlled by men in political offices or careers—"professional politicians." All such, even diplomats, "by their class and functions, stand for a certain theory of government, and for certain dominating business interests which prevent their responding to the wishes of the peoples they should represent." They all see their very existence dependent on the old discredited order of things. They do, indeed, recognize the need to reconstruct the economic equipment of Europe—

But the economic conditions taken for granted in these conferences are not those of economic peace, which is quite as vital as peace between races. Civil strife, war between employers and workmen, capital and labor, is taking the place of the wars of armies, and this fact is not being duly faced at present.

The organized working class in France has been refused representation altogether at Genoa because their ideas would not coöperate with the plans of capitalism. It was a strange and perilous failure to appreciate the power of the organized proletariat. It should not be forgotten, also, that the workmen have long had organic international relations, were indeed the first to attain them. There was especial reason for seeking their collaboration in the task of economic reconstruction. They should have

had from the first representation in the League of Nations.

That is indeed one of the faults that should be promptly corrected, despite the partial influence already acquired by Russian socialism in the laborers' unions of other countries.

But a mere economic reconstruction would undoubtedly fail again, as it did in 1914, when it was an accepted dogma that the interdependence of economic relations must render any war between European peoples impossible. Peoples are dominated above all by ideas, sentiments, passions, which shape their moral and political principles. . . . Let the spirit of revenge possess Germany, or imperialism another European nation, and we shall see how little economic realities avail against such a paroxysm.

Now, politicians exert active influence only on those impulses of other men to which they themselves respond; for they are the representatives of the existing order. Their instinct is rather to preserve or perfect the essential present conditions than to devise anything wholly new.

The ideas of such men are but a part, and that the antiquated part, of European thought. Human thought, in its unending research and activity, has worked out new conceptions of law, justice, liberty and morality. So in the universities, in the scientific and literary circles, there are special students of law and sociology who know what spiritual and moral elements are suited to secure peace among individuals and peoples, and also by what political means those results could be attained. Evidently, this modern intelligence should be represented, as well as the proletariat, in the international organizations.

A promising beginning is hailed in the decision of the League to create a commission which is to be charged with "the study of international questions of intellectual coöperation." The scope indicated seems at once vague and limited. The appointees are all designated as university professors, except M. Destrie of the Belgian Royal Academy; but such names as Madame Curie, Henri Bergson, Einstein, and Gilbert Murray indicate that real pioneers in the world of ideas have been sought out. The remark, "An eleventh place has been reserved for an American scholar," refers definitely to ourselves, Rio de Janeiro being already represented by Professor de Castro. The writer is evidently far from satisfied in this matter, also. The mandate seems quite too limited. "Let us lay down the principle that the intellectual reconstruction of Europe should be the task of the intellectuals themselves. And though scholars are not so thoroughly organized as the manual workers, arrangements could be made by which the members of such commissions might be more clearly the actual choice of their peers."

Soviet Russia and the Mohammedan World

THE desire of the Russian Government to utilize Mohammedan enthusiasm or fanaticism as weapons against the opposition of Europe is brought out into clear relief in an article in *Politica* (Rome) by Aurelio Palmieri, director of the Slavic Section of the "Istituto per L'Europa Orientale." In this writer's view Soviet Russia now cherishes a vision of political hegemony in the East. The Russia of the Czars sought to attain this supremacy by force of arms, but the Bolsheviks would like to reach the same end by the victorious march of the social revolution. The former regarded its neighbors on the Eastern frontiers as the natural enemies of its aspirations, as barriers which must be beaten down and leveled, and this could only be done by warlike invasion, while the Bolsheviks trust to the penetration of ideas.

The conquest of Constantinople forms no part of the present Russian program. In the latent conflict between the Russians and the English, the latter have gained the upper hand on the Bosphorus, but the Russians hope to recoup themselves on the banks of the Tigris and the Ganges. The reawakening of Asia is to begin in the Near East; Persia and Anatolia shall enkindle the flames of a revolt of Islam against Christianity, of oppressed Asia against her oppressors, of the disinherited peoples of Asia against England, France, the United States and Japan. The Russians look upon the Asiatics as slaves who are held in bondage by a small minority whose sole idea is to exploit them profitably, and the great task of the New Russia is to put an end to this state of things.

Soviet Russia is fighting for its very existence; the Bolsheviks feel that they have been hurled back and oppressed by European capitalism. The dream of the awakening of the European proletariat, which would be ready to receive its oracles from the Kremlin for the introduction of a new social order, has vanished into thin air before the stern lessons of reality. The civilized peoples of Europe have shown no disposition to fall into the abyss into which the Russian Government has precipitated its own people, or to risk the destructive experiments that have been tried there. Hence the Russians begin to feel that salva-

tion can only come from Asia. As Zinoviev, one of their writers says:

Our revolution will triumph only when we unite ourselves with the 800,000,000 Asiatics, and when the African Continent also shall join us.

This is really nothing but a supreme appeal to the barbarism of Asia to hasten to the rescue of civilized Europe!

According to another of the Russian prophets, Troianosky, India is the real citadel of the Oriental revolution, but the Mohammedan peoples of southeastern Russia, of Persia and of Egypt are the channels through which India can be reached. Although it may seem to us that Pan-Islamism has its political center in the Near East, the real nucleus of the movement and its great focus of resistance is in India. The sixty-two million Mohammedans of India, if we except some eight or nine millions, are concentrated in one region, and they constitute the sustaining force of Pan-Islamism. Whatever superficial differences and distinctions there may be, the bond of a common religious faith unites the Mohammedan populations and animates them with a common ideal.

Turning to Persia, the writer notes that the program of the Persian Socialists is in full agreement with the Russian plans and aspirations. The Persians lament that the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907, with its delimitation of the spheres of interest of the two nations in Persia, had reduced that land to the condition of a vassal state. In 1911, Russia became so arrogant that, in accord with England, it forbade the Persian Government to admit any foreigner to its service. The yoke grew still more oppressive, however, when in 1916 Russia and England established a control over the Persian finances and divided the territory of Persia into two zones, one of which was occupied by Russian troops and the other by English troops. Now the Persian Socialists demand the cancellation of all agreements made with Czarist Russia and with England, of all the concessions and privileges granted to these two countries, and they also demand that the most cordial relations shall be established between the Russian people and the people of Persia, both animated by the spirit of liberty.

In conclusion, however, the Italian writer

confesses that since the decisive defeat of the Greeks, the Angora government tends to sever any close relations of Turkey with Russia, and to come to a good understanding with the Entente powers, whose help is

needed for a solution of Turkey's economic problems, and upon whose friendly, or at least neutral, attitude the fate of Turkey now depends, as it has more than once in the past.

The French in Tunis

UNDER the title "Reforms in Tunisia" M. Charles Géniaux writes with full knowledge, but cautiously, in the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris).

For instance, the reforms themselves are not explicitly stated. There is not the slightest allusion to the struggle of 85,000 Italians to maintain their language, schools, etc., against "absorption" by the 55,000 French. Nor does the writer venture any forecast as to results of the recent concessions.

The 2,000,000 natives are chiefly Berbers, near akin perhaps by racial origin to most Iberians and Italians; essentially a dark "white" race. There are but 2 per cent. of negroes, and even the Arabs are mostly mere nomads of the South, being steadily pushed into the Sahara. The "Moors" of the coast cities, largely descendants of the exiles from Granada, have in their veins also much European blood. The prevailing language is a fairly pure Arabic, and "the Koran is Bible and law code." They appear to be a people much better unified, more intelligent, and also far more loyal to their white rulers, than our Filipinos.

Naturally the pressure for more or less complete autonomy, so serious in India and Egypt, can be more easily studied here than in the far larger Morocco and Algiers with their native populations of five and a half million each. The "Young Tunisian" or "Reform" party, created about 1907 under the leadership of the gifted and ill-fated Ali Bach Hamba, includes seven-eighths of the educated natives. Many of the present leaders have been graduated, like him, from the best universities and law schools—or even military schools—of France. A hundred thousand natives of Tunisia served gallantly in the World War, of whom only half came home.

During those critical years

There was not only no agitation among the Tunisians, but evidence of the purest loyalty. The fellah on the estate of the colonist called to the colors constituted himself guardian of the plantation and

the family of his absent master. No murder of an European child or woman was reported, not a single act of robbery or brigandage.

... Unhappily this truce has not continued since the Armistice. Perhaps the Tunisians erred in taking too literally the expressions of tender affection, and certain declarations of fraternity among those who had fought together.

Among those now agitating for a written constitution, and an assembly at least half composed of Mussulman natives, with control of taxation and appropriations, there are on the one hand some leaders with liberal French education, sincerely loyal to the Republic; and at the other extreme at least one fanatical adherent to Mohammedan dress, language and manners, who raises openly the cry of "Martyred Tunisia," and laments the Golden Age when the Bey was real master in Tunis. Persecution may serve only to drive these coreligionists into political unity also.

This year the third bad harvest since the Armistice is announced. Trade is dead. Bankruptcy stares the most energetic in the face. Prohibitive export duties prevent even the tourists from buying rugs or fabrics. Now as always any European, even a laborer just arrived from Sicily, is better paid for the same service than any native. The malcontents imagine that the mere grant of the "Destour" (Constitution) would suffice to make life easy. The French of Tunis see in this Bolshevistic agitation, or even the hand of Germany! In general the French press of the colony demands the sternest measures of repression.

On the fifth of last April, all the shops in the Moorish portion of the city (the largest, outside of Egypt, in all Northern Africa) were closed. Thousands upon thousands of grave, silent men marched in a solemn demonstration for political reform, for real civic rights. The only utterance indicating hostility toward the French was the shrill yells of the women from behind their lattices. The garrison was paraded in full



STREET SCENE IN MODERN TUNIS

force, with loaded cannon. It was an exciting and anxious day.

But the marshals of that procession were veterans of the World War, many of them with French war crosses pinned to their burnouses;—and their orders might well have come from Gandhi himself: "If you are fired upon, make no resistance; pick up your dead and retire *in silence!*" It was on that day that some Frenchmen cried: "The best way is to end this now once for all by stamping on it."

It was to such a Tunisia that President Millerand came, in those same April days, on his mission of conciliation, and offering liberal promises. There is no definite statement as to the precise extent of the reforms which have thus been promulgated, in the hollow form of "Decrees" by the dying Bey—who had in truth been life-long a mere helpless ghost of hereditary power. The Assembly is still to consist of two houses sitting separately, one French and one native. They may "discuss" the budget, and apparently such other topics as are formally laid before them. If both houses unite in a protest, it is an effective veto upon the action of the local authority,—until acted on by the French Government itself at the Quai d'Orsay.

This is accepted by the leader of the Young Tunisians "as a beginning"; with a sharp protest at some provision which he regards as excluding himself, and all the other Intellectuals, completely from office, and from "their proper function as educators

of the illiterate masses toward a consciousness of nationality." Their definitely formulated demand is an elective legislature, half native and half French, which shall have full freedom of discussion, and real control of the budget of taxation and expenditures. Their ultimate goal is full citizenship, at least.

The writer nowhere distinctly reveals that he regards the situation as a disheartening, or even as a perilous one; though he does praise as wise the twenty-five French parliamentarians who recently voted for the immediate grant of a really liberal and adequate charter of rights for the native Tunisians. But perhaps he felt that no analysis or comment was needed for such passages as the following, which is quoted from the "approval," by educated natives, of the new conscription law, requiring universal service under the colors for three years:

This heavy burden our co-religionists will accept in the hope of extracting some benefit from it. We feel that the common people should learn discipline from you. The sons of our diverse tribes, brought together for several years by your efforts, will come to know each other, and will acquire the sentiment of their African nationality. Within a dozen years, about a million Tunisian, Algerian and Moroccan Mussulmans will have served under your standard. That million men will constitute a respectable force. At that time, it is our hope that France will consent to reward us for our loyalty by granting us ample reforms.

The writer expresses the fullest confidence in the strong, fearless and conciliatory French Resident who now rules Tunisia, and closes with the expression of the hope that the present rivalry, between a soldier and a civilian, for the succession will result in prolonging the administration of M. Saint for many a year.

The writer probably realizes that his grave political problem is an integral part of the world-wide Moslem reawakening and steady drawing together, of which Gandhi is the most striking, perhaps the central figure. The actual equipment of the Turks by France, the extreme reluctance of the English to use force against Mustapha Kemal, and the meek restoration of Eastern Thrace, have been largely dictated by consciousness of this great Mohammedan movement—and will in their turn encourage and accelerate it. The writer's advice seems to be, to bend—if not yield—betimes, in the hope of retaining, in some degree, the good will of the Moslem.

The French Occupation on the Rhine and in the Saar Valley

AN EXTREMELY strenuous statement of 10,000 words is published over the signature "Ludvig af Petersers-Stockholm, Royal Swedish Colonel, Retired," in vigorous German, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for October. It is frankly announced:

During this last summer I have had opportunity to study conditions in this region; the opinion of them which I here utter is *not the French one, but that of the oppressed people*. . . . It is not the view of a particular party, but of *the entire folk*. I came into contact with all classes, higher and lower officials, business men of every type, workmen and labor-leaders, from the Extreme Right to the Socialists. The accounts of all these men were perfectly harmonious. They were invariably given objectively and without fanaticism, calmly, clearly and convincingly, and I was able to test them by comparison with one another.

Curiously enough, the foreign observer fails, in his own general report, in these very qualities here emphasized. He has much that is unfamiliar, interesting and important to communicate. He weakens his attack by irrelevancy, avowed partisanship, and violence of expression; yet he earns the right to an attentive hearing, on many matters far more vital than his diatribes on the "incurable imperialism of the French people" as illustrated by the destruction of Heidelberg castle and the desecration of Rudolf of Hapsburg's tomb, prompted by Louis XIV and sternly reproved by Fénelon, the Dauphin's instructor!

Much that is disturbing is told as to the lawless behavior of the French soldiers, and especially of the black regiments still quartered on German soil. Here the Colonel quotes approvingly from a report in the *New York Nation* (January, 1921) by Pierrepont E. Noyes, ex-member of the Rhineland Commission: "It is brutal, it is defiant, it is a continuation of the war." Of the "black scandal" he says impressively: "This policy is the first nail in the coffin of the white race, as all thoughtful men should clearly see. The blacks have had revealed to them the interrelations of the whites. . . . They have learned to despise the whites. They have been allowed to see quite too much." Here again Miss Ray Beveridge is quoted with approval, while the denials of Mrs. Catt, Secretary Colby, and General Allen are sharply condemned as based on second-hand informa-

tion and untruthful French statements. Nitti's "Europe without Peace" is also quoted in severe condemnation of this fatal policy, but most effective of all are the passages from the French Colonel Gautier's book, "England and We."

The writer himself adds most gloomy forebodings, echoing Norman Angell and E. D. Morel:

They with good reason prophesy the downfall of the white race, when power passes from it to the black, brown and yellow masses, trained to military efficiency by the whites themselves. . . . The French leaders are repeating the words of their ancestors before the Revolution, "After us the Deluge."

Yet even this perilous policy—contemptuously excused as due to France's small and diminishing white population, quite inadequate for her large imperialistic ambitions—is not the chief object of attack.

The whole treatment of the occupied lands is described as aimed at permanent annexation or conquest, camouflaged to the world's eyes by a falsified showing of goodwill on the part of the subjected peoples, together with a forcible suppression of all evidence to the contrary. Though official reports conceal the size of the French armies, and any intelligent estimate of it is hampered and discouraged, this military observer records it as 135,000 men in disarmed Rhineland alone: double the number of the German troops quartered there before the war. Hence all the old barracks, parade-grounds, flying-fields, hangars, etc., are utterly inadequate. Schools, public buildings, villas, etc., are requisitioned at ridiculous figures. Officers and "non-coms" are quartered in private houses, often forcing out portions of families. The housing problem is in any case as acute in Germany as elsewhere, and this unnatural pressure causes real suffering. In all disputes thence arising the military judges give curt and masterful judgment. The worst tales of compulsory, organized immorality are confirmed. The most terrible story of outrage, mutilation and murder, with official condonement, comes from a town of 3,500 rustics, terrorized by a battalion of negro troops.

In the early days of the occupation learned appeals were made to the supposed

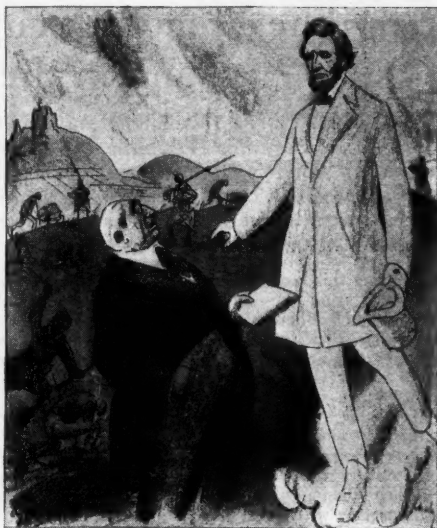
popular consciousness of "Cello-Frankish common origin" with the French, to jealousy of Prussia and the eastward Germans generally, even to gratitude for Napoleon's short-lived creation of Westphalia as an "independent" kingdom. The only effect, we are told, has been an all but unanimous reversion to the most enthusiastic race-loyalty, and now a grim determination to avenge the humiliations and miseries of the present. This exasperation on both sides is apparently on the increase, though the official bulletins to the outside world depict a condition of general satisfaction.

The fullest and freshest information, based on a visit during this last summer, comes from the Saar Valley, with its population of 850,000, confessedly German for over a thousand years. There were less than 100 Frenchmen there in 1918, though Clemenceau, in the following March, declared 150,000 had sent an appeal to President Poincaré for his protection!

By order of the League of Nations, the government is now vested in a commission headed by a Frenchman who does not understand German. Associated with him are a Danish count, now heading the Saar school system, and a Canadian.

As to changes in laws, taxation, etc., the people are accorded "a right to be heard," which has been occasionally exercised—with quite such results as followed the conferences granted to Senator Platt by Theodore Roosevelt in his governorship! The newly organized railway system is under "the hostile Switzer, Nippold," and a staff of other foreigners. The promised gendarmerie is represented only by a garrison of 7,000 French soldiers. A decree making French an obligatory study in all German schools had to be rescinded in the face of a general revolt against it. German money is not only discouraged but generally refused by officials. The Colonel could not purchase his railway ticket until he produced francs. The attempt was made to transfer the whole community to the church control of Metz instead of Trier, but this again was wrecked on the resolute opposition of the entire Catholic clergy.

A general appeal against the policy of the government, shared in by all the substantial elements of the population, laid before the Council of the League, was effectively offset by "a deliberately untruthful statement" of the government. Thereupon a deputation laid their grievances in person before



A GERMAN CARTOON REPRESENTING LINCOLN'S SPIRIT AS APPEALING TO PRESENT-DAY AMERICA TO INTERVENE AGAINST OCCUPATION OF GERMAN TERRITORY BY BLACK TROOPS

("I have freed black slaves from the hands of the Whites. You, Mr. Harding, have opportunity to free white slaves from the hands of the Blacks")

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich)

the leading statesmen of Europe, and were most sympathetically received, we are told, by Branting, Nansen, Zahle, Motta, Robert Cecil, Beves, and others.

Still more recently, as a reluctant concession, a deliberative body of two houses has been ordained. The upper house is wholly appointed by the triumvirs, as is the presiding officer of the popular body, who need not even be one of the thirty elected members. No question may be discussed which has not been expressly laid before them by the government. This plan, drawn up without consultation with any of the German natives, was presented to the Council of the League, together with a long and rhetorical eulogy upon its merits, by a Chinese member. The election of the body of thirty which constitutes the lower house has very recently occurred. Despite every form of interference and pressure by the government, not a single member friendly to it was returned.

Where, one wonders, were Clemenceau's 150,000 Frenchmen?

A free and happy people dwelt formerly in the Saar Valley, and has passed under the despotic and unjustifiable rule of the League of Nations, with a strong inclination to play into the hands of French violence.

Behind the Scenes of Life and of Politics

CHEERY and hopeful as ever, the voice of the departed founder and editor, Jean Finot, is heard in the leading article of the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris) for October 15. In form the article is a protest against fatalism; it blames the young science of sociology in particular for the "false doctrine of immutable laws to which we can but submit, as we are powerless to change them. When the truth of our own mastery over events is rooted in the general consciousness, all the citizens will share more actively in public affairs and in the choice of those who guide our present and future. Meantime, we are missing the chief benefit that should have come from the downfall of hereditary monarchies: Competent, even though short-lived, directors. The present officials are usually elected in consequence of the citizens' lack of interest, and still oftener through intrigues and dubious actions."

With naive sincerity M. Finot proceeds to illustrate his thesis from his own experience, reminding one constantly of the disclosures as to his own decisive influence on affairs of state recently made by an American editor, Mr. Herman Kohlsaat.

A few years before the World War, Baron von Flotow, German Ambassador, through Theodor Wolff, then Parisian editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, sought the acquaintance of M. Finot, and at a private dinner asked him to take the lead in restoring better feeling between the two countries, reminding the editor that the Fashoda incident had not chilled his desire and efforts for a Franco-English entente. The bold reply was, that a free plebiscite to decide the allegiance of the folk in Alsace-Lorraine, to be loyally accepted by Germany if in the minority, was the only adequate means to the end desired. The envoy was converted, and undertook to lay the plan before Kaiser Wilhelm, with one proviso: It was never to be mentioned, or in any way divulged to the public if rejected.

If then the Kaiser had had the courage to impose this solution upon his people, one can easily imagine how radically the whole world-situation would have been modified. The great war would surely have been avoided.

A more successful intervention occurred when on August 20, 1914, the Garibaldi cousins, General Peppino and Colonel Ricciotti, promptly came to Paris with their

brothers and numerous volunteers to join the French forces. "In consequence of deplorable conditions, down to September 2nd," (the very day before the government's flight to Bordeaux) "they had failed to get in touch with the President of the Cabinet and the Ministers of War and Marine," and announced to M. Finot, their intimate friend, the immediate return of the whole company to Italy. Persuading them to wait twenty-four hours, he next morning hurried to the Elysée, where they waited in the carriages while he forced the entrance.

"It is impossible for you to see President Poincaré."

"Why?"

"He has refused himself to-day to many Senators and Deputies."

"I am neither, so he will see me."

So on that ill-omened day the knots of red tape were cut, and the editor goes on to show that but for his personal intervention "there is mighty little chance that Italy would ever have taken part in the war on the side of the Entente."

Another chapter of history behind the scenes might seem to take from President Roosevelt a part of the credit for ending the Russo-Japanese war:

In 1905 the Czar's government was negotiating for a loan of 1,200,000,000 francs, equivalent to several milliards now-a-days. International finance, for the sake of the Russian autocracy and its own millions of prospective profits, besides generous subsidies for newspapers and politicians of all shades, worked eagerly for it. Profoundly stirred by the manifold miseries to befall the whole world through a continuance of the war, I opened one of my most furious campaigns against the granting of financial aid from France. Deeply moved by my arguments, members of parliament went in person to M. Rouvier, President of the Council. . . . Meantime the loan had already been underwritten by our principal banks and the Russian Government. In a memorable interview which I had on this occasion with the President of the Council, he begged me not to disturb public opinion. . . . M. Roussier, a great patriot, was strongly affected by the remark that the government was working for our defeat in a future war with Germany; for, as Russia was wasting all her forces uselessly in the Far East, the value of the Franco-Russian alliance was growing altogether illusory. M. Rouvier determined to annul the loan, despite the exchange of signatures.

M. Finot goes on to relate gleefully how years after, under the Duma, the Russian Minister of Finance, in a public speech, accused him of having himself caused the

discontinuance of the war, and his simultaneous reply by private letter and in the pages of the *Revue Mondiale*:

Never would I for an instant have supposed that

a modest writer could by his written words secure such beneficent and incalculable results. But the instant the Russian Minister of Finance declares that it is true, I can but accept the fact . . . that I did save hundreds of thousands of lives and many billions of money.

The Modern Journey from Capetown to Cairo

THE "all-red" route from Capetown to Cairo, of which Cecil Rhodes dreamed, is an accomplished fact to-day, though there are still gaps in the iron highway which the great empire builder predicted would some day link the ends of the erstwhile Dark Continent. Civilization is making swift strides in Africa. Some of the striking transformations that have come to pass there are vividly revealed in the *Mentor* (New York) by Mr. E. M. Newman,

the well-known travel-lecturer, who has lately made a journey over the route just mentioned.

The trip from the Cape to Cairo, which even as recently as 1902, the year of Rhodes' death, would have taken many months, can now be accomplished in fifty-three days. With the exception of 289 miles, where one must walk or be carried, the entire journey can be made by rail, boat and automobile. A stretch of railway now under construction will soon reduce the time to four weeks.

The hardships of African travel are rapidly passing into the limbo of tradition. Mr. Newman thus describes the first stages of his journey:

The railroad that Rhodes dreamed of makes a brave and impressive start at the station in Capetown, where we find a train with all modern conveniences awaiting us. After leaving Capetown, the first important city that we reach on the great African trip is Kimberley. Probably nowhere else in the world has such wealth been won from so small an area. From four mines, the greatest dimensions of which are under two hundred acres, diamonds worth more than a billion dollars have been taken in the past fifty years.

Farther north and 957 miles distant from Capetown, or about as far as from New York to Chicago, is Johannesburg, the largest city in Africa, with the exception of Cairo. In 1886, a few straggling shanties represented all there was of the present metropolis of South Africa. The discovery of gold on the Rand, or Reef, transformed an insignificant place to a city of about 300,000 inhabitants. The Rand is a tract forty miles in length, with the city of Johannesburg at its center, and this small area has in some years produced half the gold supply of the world. From 250,000 to 500,000 natives are employed in the mines, most of them savages a few years ago.

It is but thirty-six miles from the



FROM CAPE TOWN TO CAIRO

(The heavy black line marks Mr. Newman's route)

metropolis to Pretoria, the former capital of the Boer Republic. In this town one may still visit the house in which Oom Paul Kruger lived—where, on the stoop, every burgher was welcomed and served with coffee. The rugged old president kept open house from five in the morning until evening, listening and advising in a manner that endeared him to his people. He is buried in a little cemetery but a stone's throw from his former home.

Since Kruger's time nearly \$8,000,000 has been expended for new government buildings, forming a monumental pile that dominates Pretoria.

Rhodesia alone is larger in area than the British Isles, France, Germany, and Italy combined, yet its total population is only 35,000. About one-half of the entire supply of chrome and asbestos comes from this country. It is a curious fact that practically all the mines now being worked were discovered and operated by the ancients. From beads, bracelets, and other goldwork found, it is evident that these old-time people were skilled not alone as miners, but also in the art of the jeweler.

The railroad passes through the important towns of Mafeking and Bulawayo, and then takes a long detour, bringing the traveler face to face with one of the most stupendous spectacles in the world, the Victoria Falls of the Zambesi River. We are told that when Cecil Rhodes marked the line of the railway he provided that the road should run so near the falls that the spray would dash on the car windows. Natives described the mist of the cataract to Dr. Livingstone as "the smoke that sounds."

North of Rhodesia the route of the railway has been determined by the location of the world-famous copper fields of the Katanga, the southernmost province of the Belgian Congo. Of this region, and its capital, Elizabethville, we read:

After looking for days upon almost nude savages and traveling through an apparently endless forest, to come suddenly into an electrically lighted town is a glad surprise. Smart-looking shops, with windows filled with the latest merchandise from Paris and New York, fashionably gowned women promenading, greet your eyes as you enter Elizabethville, one of the newest towns in the Congo, and the largest.

Ten years ago nothing but a wilderness, it has to-day fine substantial buildings, several excellent hotels, banks, and department stores, and, last but not least, a number of automobiles, most of them of American make. Surrounded by vast mineral wealth, this Congo town has gone ahead with amazing rapidity.

A corporation known as the *Union Minière*, with



THE NEW HOTEL AT VICTORIA FALLS, RHODESIA

(This hotel was built and is owned by the Beira & Mashonaland Railway, for the accommodation of tourists visiting the great falls discovered by Dr. Livingstone nearly seventy years ago)

headquarters at Brussels, enjoys a monopoly of the mineral rights of the Katanga Province. Both English and Americans are financially interested in this concession. The company pays a certain percentage of its profits to the Belgian Government.

Mr. Newman's further journey to the northward was alternately by railroad and steamboat, except for a comfortable automobile trip from Masindi Port, on Lake Chioga (Kioga) to Butiaba, on the shores of Albert Nyanza, and two relatively short caravan journeys; one of 200 miles in the Tanganyika Territory, and the other, of 89 miles, around the rapids of the upper Nile, between Nimule and Refaj.

Summing up his experience in traversing the continent from south to north, the writer says:

No longer is the Cape-to-Cairo route conjecture—it is reality. Every comfort must not be expected, but with reasonable patience and a true spirit of adventure the average tourist will find it feasible and enjoyable. Hotels are being built, most of them good, some excellent, and a few leaving much to be desired. There is fairly good accommodation to be had even in the smaller and more out-of-the-way places. Train travel is slow, but if a compartment can be obtained one may ride in comfort, as there are sleeping and dining cars all the way from Capetown to Bukama in the Congo.

The boats on the Lualaba do not provide meals, but have screened cabins, and food may be carried for the few days on the river. Hot water for making tea or coffee is available. Albertville, on Lake Tanganyika, now has two fairly good hotels, and Kigoma on the opposite shore is also well provided with hotels. Arrangement is made for one's comfort while on the march, and after arrival at Victoria Nyanza no hardships are encountered. The journey down the Nile is on excellent steamers, and the palatial hotels in Egypt are the last word in comfort.

Darkest or "Unknown Africa" will soon be but a memory.

News of Nature's World

As to Indian Summer

IT is a rather curious and interesting fact that the term "Indian Summer" seems not to be of Indian origin. Nor does it, or any other analogous term, occur in the language of any savage tribe, and its origin is a bit uncertain, though the reference, in this country, is fairly definite. There was much of the typical Indian summer weather during last month and October, characterized by nearly cloudless days and warm temperatures, with much haze in the atmosphere. Under such conditions, the barometer shows higher pressure than is normal, and there is a downward movement of the air, which is noticeable in ascending balloons. The leaves of most of the plants dry up, and fall from their stems. Forest and prairie fires multiply, and the smoke increases the characteristic haze in the atmosphere.

Precisely similar weather conditions occur during the same months in Germany, where the season is known as the "Old Woman's Summer" and "St. Luke's Summer," while in England "St. Martin's" and "All Hallow Summer" are applied, but the terms refer especially to the feasts concerned, rather than to meteorological conditions. It seems that the term does not actually appear in printed books or manuscripts until the year 1794, when it was employed throughout the Atlantic States; but there is no documentary evidence that it was borrowed from the Indians. The *Monthly Weather Review*, vol. xxx, pp. 19-29 and 69-79 (Washington, 1902), treats the subject scientifically.

The Destructive Cottontail

It is difficult to conjure up malice in the mild and timid rabbit, yet he really is capable of doing a great deal of injury, especially in these days, when he may be a bit hard pressed for food. For he does not hesitate to resort to the bark of trees, when he is hungry, and is not very particular about the kind of tree he selects. In a night, he may girdle several fruit or young shade trees, with the result that those trees will certainly die. Therefore, it behooves a farmer or owner of shade trees not only to know this, but to know what to do about it.

All phases of this important subject are

carefully considered in the pamphlet, "Cottontail Rabbits in Relation to Trees and Farm Crops" (No. 702), by D. E. Lantz, assistant biologist of the U. S. Biological Survey. This pamphlet has been published recently as a Farmers' Bulletin by the U. S. Department of Agriculture, which supplies it for general distribution. As Mr. Lantz says:

Among the serious pests in orchard and tree plantations, are the several native species of rabbits. . . . The larger forms include the arctic and varying hares, or snowshoe rabbits, and the jack-rabbits, and are found throughout nearly all of Alaska and Canada and all the States west of the Mississippi except Arkansas and Louisiana. East of the Mississippi they inhabit the northern parts of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, most of New York and New England, and southward in the Appalachian Mountains, parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The smaller forms, generally called "cottontail rabbits," occur in every State, but are absent from the greater part of Maine, the northern parts of New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, and from the western parts of Washington and Oregon. In recent years they have extended their range northward in the New England States, New York, and portions of the West, and Ontario. . . . Rabbits of both genera, however, feed exclusively on vegetation, and are at times harmful to crops and especially to trees. . . .

Traps and other devices that are effective with cottontail rabbits do not always succeed with jack-rabbits. . . . Cottontail rabbits eat all sorts of herbage—leaves, stems, flowers, and seeds of herbaceous plants and grasses—and leaves, buds, bark and fruits of woody plants or trees. . . . It is during summer droughts or when deep snows cut off ordinary supplies that the animals attack the bark of growing trees or shrubs. . . . In fruit-growing and truck-farming districts farmers regard them with disfavor, and there is considerable rivalry between sportsmen and farmers to have their opposing views reflected in the game laws. The interests of the two classes do not seriously differ, however, for when rabbits are closely hunted losses from their depredations are usually reduced to a minimum. Still there is danger that in years favorable for their increase, the animals may inflict serious injury to trees during severe winters.

Means of most effectually repressing rabbits are considered carefully and described fully in this pamphlet, with especial regard for the device; and warning is given particularly about the use of poisons. Various predatory animals are constantly doing their share, and poor bunny is much preyed upon, but he manages more than to hold his own, in many places, and man must take a hand to protect his property.

A Road-Runner's Top Speed

All sorts of wild stories have been perpetrated at various times by the newspapers, as to the speed of the remarkable road-runner, a common bird of the cuckoo family, which inhabits the southwestern cactus belts of this country, has unusual nidification habits, and is capable of very swift traveling on its legs. It is concerning this latter peculiarity that the newspaper men have been suspected often of "drawing the long bow," with yarns about a road-runner which outran a swift horse, or an express train, or something equally silly, planned for the digestion of the credulous. Wherefore, it seems well worth while to repeat this apparently truthful account of an evidently reliable observer, published in the September-October issue of the *Condor*, the carefully edited magazine of Western ornithology:

While motoring along a paved road, August 15, 1921, I had an unusual opportunity of recording the speed of the fast-running road-runner (*Geococcyx californianus*). The road was situated just above the sea in a private estate known as the Hope Ranch, near Santa Barbara. We were just entering a long driveway bordered on either side with palms, and coasting along on about a three per cent. grade, when a road-runner appeared a few rods ahead. The car gained on the bird until about five yards separated us, and I saw it was running at its utmost speed. I instructed my friend, who was driving, not to press him further, and for fully three hundred yards the bird ran from the huge monster in pursuit, the while the speedometer registered exactly fifteen miles per hour. When finally we approached very closely, the bird gave up and flew into a palm, where I plainly saw it, beak agape and apparently much fatigued from the unusual exertion. Shortly after, I saw it sail to the ground and trot slowly away.

The proximity of the car and the closely grown palms were undoubtedly the two obstacles that kept the road-runner on a straight-away course. It seemed baffled; from its viewpoint the palms probably appeared like a solid hedge. During the run, the bird's position was almost a straight line from beak to tip of tail. The tail drooped a little below the back and was frequently wagged up and down. —H. H. SHELDON, *Santa Barbara, California, June 15, 1922.*

A Winter Butterfly

A butterfly in winter may seem incongruous enough, but for those who keep their eye open it is a common happening. The "mourning cloak," as she is commonly and quite appropriately called, on account of her dark brown wings, edged with light buff, was born probably last September, and is

likely to be seen any sunshiny day during the winter months. At other times she sleeps, lightly, under ledges, or in other more or less protected spots. As a matter of fact, we have a family of these butterflies, composing several species, and moreover they are about the best dodgers of their kind. Just at present, in the winter months, they don't need to dodge much, because most of their worst enemies, the birds, are gone, though a few remain about, and are keen-eyed, of course. So when mourning cloak settles in the dull background of roadside mud, or on dead twigs and brown leaves, she folds together the under sides of her wings, and the dull-colored upper sides largely protect her, because, in those surroundings, she is really very hard to see, and thus is likely to escape the eye of the passing bird. On the other hand, the buff edging of her wings makes a color contrast which catches the eye of the color-loving male mourning cloak; and thus begins the courtship for which Nature has arranged, with the result that the young mourning cloaks get an early start in the spring.

A Northern Visitor

The northern States, and even some as far south as Texas, are likely to have a visit during the winter months from the Arctic owl, or snowy owl, a huge white fellow, who is a fierce foe of the small birds and domesticated chickens. Unlike many owls, he has good vision in daytime (because he needs it in his northern regions) and may frequently be seen flying about freely in broad daylight. During the winter months his normal color is nearly pure white, with a mottling of faint, short black stripes, not plainly seen at a distance. He has fierce, yellow eyes, like those of a cat, and a noiseless flight, like that of all of the owls. Furthermore, he is a member of the barn owl tribe, and his eyes are pointed inward—set on nearly the same plane. For reasons not clearly understood, in all cases, these migrations often amount to veritable invasions during some winters; and the ghostly white visitors are seen in great numbers, especially along the seashore, where they feed on cast-up fish. They also feed freely on small, noxious mammals; and the ornithologists count them generally a bird useful to mankind.

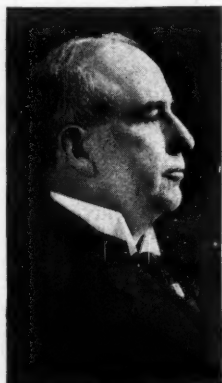
THE NEW BOOKS

Cross-Sections of American Life

From Harrison to Harding. By Arthur Wallace Dunn. Putnam's. 2 vols. Ill.

It is fortunate that our political journalists of experience and training, both in England and America, are showing a marked tendency to put their knowledge of men and events into book form. This was not so much the fashion twenty or thirty years ago, when the writing of books was taken far more seriously than nowadays, and when the academic students of politics and economics were in the habit of disparaging journalism, and of looking with condescension upon journalists. Nowadays, however, the professors and historians are writing freely for newspapers and periodicals, while the newspaper men are writing many books

of exceptional value. Events of the past ten years have brought to public attention a school of international journalism led by men of wide knowledge, keen intelligence, and good writing ability. These men have been able to penetrate the mysteries of diplomacy, and have broken down the barriers of official reticence. In consequence of which they have given us not only instructive articles in the press, but also informative volumes which the future historian will study with deep gratitude.



ARTHUR WALLACE
DUNN

Washington has been for several decades past a center for the distribution of intelligence not only in the field of national affairs but also in that of the world at large. Some of the writers who have made their mark at Washington had been learning while they were teaching—that is to say, their contact with men and events had been their own best training school, so that from year to year their work improved in quality. Mr. Arthur Wallace Dunn is one of those seasoned Washington observers and writers whose knowledge has steadily increased, and whose judgment has ripened with a continuous experience of more than thirty years. As a young Minnesota newspaper man, he came to Washington from the St. Paul *Pioneer Press* in 1889. After a few years he became Congressional reporter for the Associated Press—an assiduous and responsible post that he occupied for almost a decade and a half. More recently he has written from Washington for various newspapers and periodicals, including many articles for the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*. He has been a president of the famous Gridiron Club, and is

the author of an entertaining volume of Gridiron reminiscences.

We have now from Mr. Dunn's pen two narrative volumes in the field of American government and politics entitled, "From Harrison to Harding." Mr. Dunn's residence in Washington began with the Harrison Administration, and has continued for precisely one-third of a century. His work for the Associated Press brought him into exceptionally close relations with leaders of the House and Senate. It also taught him never to violate confidence, not to be bitterly partisan, and to present men and measures at their best rather than their worst. This experience, taken together with his own natural qualities of poise and caution, as well as sincerity, made it easy for him to learn many things intimately that were withheld from general knowledge. These volumes do not pretend to be a rounded history of American politics for the period with which they are concerned; but they present consecutively the leading events, and then they proceed to throw numerous sidelights upon political affairs derived from the notebooks and personal experiences of the author himself.

Mr. Dunn writes with a singular consistency as regards his impartial tone. He tells much that he knew personally; yet there is a refreshing absence of egotism. He avoids self-exploitation to an almost unexampled extent, in view of the fact that his own direct knowledge of affairs furnishes the entire reason for his narrative. It is not as a student of politics, but rather as an immediate observer and a frequent participant that these annals are written down. Mr. Dunn knew all the Presidents of this thirty-year period, and all the leaders in Cabinets and in Congress. He was especially well acquainted with Mr. Roosevelt at all stages of the public career of that great American; and many incidents and anecdotes pertaining to Roosevelt are here published for the first time.

American political history has always been a fascinating subject for a considerable percentage of our robust citizenry, and this consecutive story of politics, legislation, and government from the personal standpoint—so remarkably authentic and so free from bias—was well worth the writing and will take its place among standard works in its field.

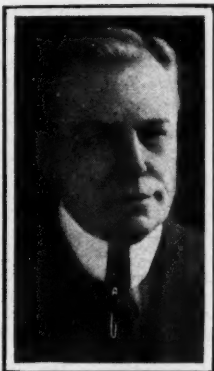
The Print of My Remembrance. By Augustus Thomas. Charles Scribner's Sons. 477 pp.

It was said of Franklin K. Lane, when he was put on President Wilson's list of cabinet possibilities, that he was the one man who might have been assigned to any cabinet place whatsoever without being regarded as a misfit. He was broadly trained, and the personality of the man was large and dominating. Augustus Thomas, with varied experiences in early life, found his principal occupation in the writing of plays, and for more than thirty years he has been identified with the best interests of the American stage, as a means

of our national advancement in character and culture. But through all this period it has been recognized that the man himself was greater than any of the achievements of his talents and his industry. Like Frank Lane, his early manhood included much legal study and much journalistic experience. Like Lane also he became a public speaker of remarkable finish and distinction. He spent several years in practical railroading, and there lay open before him almost equally inviting opportunities to win success as a lawyer, a business man, a journalist, or a politician in the best sense. It was in about the year 1891 that he left Missouri (he had grown up in St. Louis and had edited a newspaper in Kansas City), and came to live in New York on the wave of the success of his charming Southern play called "Alabama." He has found it possible while winning fame primarily as dramatist and man of letters, to maintain his responsible interest in public affairs and to take and hold an envied place as a great citizen, a public orator, and a man of weight in politics. His volume of reminiscences, while seemingly the casual by-product of a rich and varied personal experience, is a genuine contribution to the story of American life in our times. It could not be otherwise than highly entertaining, and it also contains more than one permanently valuable footnote to American contemporary history.

The Iron Puddler. By James J. Davis. Introduction by Joseph G. Cannon. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 275 pp.

Secretary Davis, of the U. S. Department of Labor at Washington, was an eight-year-old Welsh boy when he landed at Castle Garden in 1881. He had crossed the Atlantic with his family in the steerage, and their first experience in the new country, as he tells us in his book, "The Iron Puddler," was to lose all the household goods that they had brought with them from Wales, as well as the money that they needed for making a start in the new home. This is one of a series of incidents that would have been tragedies in most lives, but in the case of the Davis family Welsh grit and stick-to-it-iveness were bound to win in the long run. After his father had

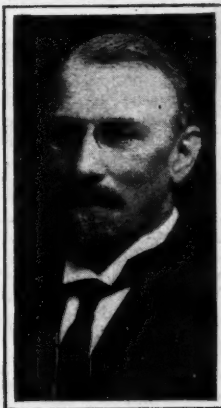


AUGUSTUS THOMAS

got work in the mills of the Pittsburgh district the boy became in succession bootblack, messenger, helper in the mills, iron puddler, tinplate roller, city clerk, county recorder, organizer, philanthropist, and a member of the Harding Cabinet. He was active in founding the great school at Mooseheart in Illinois.

All in a Lifetime. By Henry Morgenthau. In Collaboration with French Strother. Doubleday, Page & Company. 454 pp. Ill.

Mr. Morgenthau, who had long been prominent in New York City affairs, first became known to the country at large as our Ambassador to Turkey, appointed by President Wilson in 1913. His efforts to protect the Armenians and the Jews from the onslaughts of the Turks in the early years of the World War attracted international attention. His work at Constantinople and his experiences with



MR. HENRY MORGENTHAU

German diplomacy at that capital have been described in "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story," published four years ago. The present volume is an interesting account of Mr. Morgenthau's entire career from the time when he landed in this country as a boy of ten, brought by his family from Mannheim in the Grand Duchy of Baden. Like Secretary Davis, Mr. Morgenthau is a sterling example of those American citizens of foreign birth who make the most of their opportunities and rise to positions of influence and responsibility in the land of their adoption. In every sense, Mr. Morgenthau is one of Theodore Roosevelt's "good Americans."

From Printer to President. By Sherman A. Cuneo. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Company. 153 pp. Ill.

Mr. Cuneo may not have written the definitive "life" of the twenty-ninth President of the United States, but it will be generally agreed, at least among the printing fraternity, that he has told an exceedingly interesting and stimulating story about a certain Warren G. Harding, of Ohio, who was a country editor, took his job seriously, and thereby made it a vestibule or front porch, as it were, to a great political career. Mr. Cuneo himself is a country editor in Ohio, and as he pictures Editor Harding with his thirteen-em make-up rule, taking off his coat and rolling up his sleeves to "put the paper to bed" in the print-shop at Marion, the reader may forget for a time that the man who long presided over the destinies of the *Marion Star* now has wider responsibilities in the White House, but the personality that he depicts in no way loses our interest or respect.



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SECRETARY DAVIS

The Story of a Varied Life: an Autobiography. By W. S. Rainsford. Doubleday, Page & Company. 481 pp. Ill.

The idea of the "institutional church" was largely popularized in this country many years ago



DR. W. S. RAINSFORD

through the work of Dr. William S. Rainsford, as Rector of St. George's in New York City. The senior warden of St. George's Church in those years was the late J. Pierpont Morgan, Senior. In this volume of autobiography Dr. Rainsford relates with great freedom his experiences in his rectorship, and gives with entire frankness his estimates of the men with whom he came in contact during that interesting period. In later life he became a devoted friend of Theodore Roosevelt. This volume also includes recollections of the author's boyhood and youth in Ireland.

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Memories of a Hostess. Drawn chiefly from the diaries of Mrs. James T. Fields. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 312 pp. Ill.

Mrs. James T. Fields, wife of the Boston publisher, began in 1863 and continued for many years a "journal of literary events and glimpses of interesting people." Probably no other woman in America at that time was more closely in touch with the "literary events" of which she wrote or had more opportunities for obtaining "glimpses of interesting people" than Mrs. Fields. She long outlived her husband, dying in January, 1915. She had made Mr. Howe her literary executor, and the present volume has been made up from her journals and the correspondence placed in his hands. The subtitle describes the book as "A Chronicle of Eminent Friendships." The friendships were contracted with many of the best-known American authors of the Nineteenth Century, as well as with Charles Dickens and the actors Booth and Jefferson. The chapter "With Dickens in America" appeared in *Harper's Magazine* for May and June, 1922. The American writers mentioned are not confined to the New England group, but include such "outlanders" of the period as Mark Twain and Bret Harte. Still the Bostonians predominate, and we could not spare the chapters on "Dr. Holmes, the Friend and Neighbor," "Concord and Cambridge Visitors," and the record of Mrs. Fields' friendship with Sarah Orne Jewett.

Foreign Biographies and Memoirs

Mr. Lloyd George. By E. T. Raymond. George H. Doran Company. 366 pp.

Almost simultaneously with the fall of the Coalition Government in England, appears this well-written life of Mr. Lloyd George. The author, Mr. E. T. Raymond, has evidently conceived his function to be something more than that of the mere biographer. His book has developed into a criticism and analysis of Lloyd George's public career. It covers an immense amount of ground in the recent political history of Great Britain, which is reviewed with intelligence and discrimination. Almost prophetically, one of the last chapters is entitled, "Decay of the Coalition." All in all, American readers will find in this book an informing and useful statement of the somewhat puzzling elements that go to make up the character of England's great war Premier.

The Kaiser's Memoirs. By William II, Emperor of Germany 1888-1918. English Translation by Thomas R. Ybarra. Harper & Brothers. 365 pp.

These memoirs, which have now had newspaper publication in most countries of the world, present the Kaiser's case as he is willing to have it go before the bar of public opinion. The memoirs are extraordinarily personal in character. They relate Wilhelm's career as Emperor of Germany, from the beginning of his reign to the end in 1918. They review the causes of the Great War, Versailles Treaty, America's attitude, the Kaiser's reasons for signing the famous Kruger dispatch during the Boer War, the German policy in China and the

Near East, and conclude with a forecast of Germany's future as Wilhelm now sees it. This English translation of the memoirs is said to have been submitted to the author and to have been read by him, word for word, in manuscript. Corrections, additions and interlineations were written in English by his own hand.

The Real Tsaritsa. By Madame Lili Dehn. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 249 pp. Ill.

The author of this book is a Russian noblewoman, who had been admitted many years ago into the home circle of the Russian Empress. Madame Dehn was the first person to whom the Empress came with the news of the Czar's abdication. She saw much of the life at Tsarkoe Selo, while the Imperial family were under arrest. Madame Dehn herself was under imprisonment, and made a daring escape. During the captivity of the Empress she wrote to Madame Dehn letters which are here reproduced.

Autobiography of Countess Leo Tolstoy. Translated by S. S. Kotliansky and Leonard Woolf. B. W. Huebsch. 159 pp.

Without question, this is Countess Tolstoy's own story, but the reader instinctively feels it is not the whole of her story, and in strict justice to Count Tolstoy himself it should be remembered by all readers that this little book presents only one side of questions concerning which the public is hardly in a position to form judgments without fuller information.

Eminent Europeans. By Eugene S. Bagger. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 283 pp. Ill.

A series of sprightly and engaging studies of living European notables, including the King and Queen of Rumania, ex-Premier Venizelos of Greece, King Constantine of Greece, President Masaryk and Foreign Minister Benes of Czechoslovakia, Admiral Horthy of Hungary, Ignace Jan Paderewski of Poland and the world, and several less-known leaders of the Central European states. The author passed the first twenty-one years of his life at Budapest, and to him the Central European peoples seem more European than Frenchmen or Englishmen. Therefore he looks upon their leaders as more truly representative Europeans. With something of the manner of Lytton Strachey and the "Gentleman With a Duster," he has the scholar's passion to uncover realities. Moreover, he is presenting to the English-speaking world a group of characters

with most of whom that world has thus far had only the slightest acquaintance. He has given us a vivid picture of Central European politics.

Knut Hamsun. By Hanna Astrup Larsen. Alfred A. Knopf. 171 pp. Ill.

This work is not so much a formal biography of the Norwegian novelist as it is a critical analysis and estimate of his works. Yet there runs through the volume a thread of biography, and this feature will be especially welcome to American readers who within the past three or four years have become ardent admirers of Hamsun and his books. As the Nobel prize-winner in 1920, Hamsun leaped at once into world-wide fame, but some of his novels had been known and read in Europe for many years. Translations of all the most important of them have now appeared in this country, where Hamsun himself lived and adventured for a time.

World Politics

The New Constitutions of Europe. By Howard Lee McBain and Lindsay Rogers. Doubleday, Page & Company. 612 pp.

Believing it important that American students should at least have the opportunity of reading in English text the constitutions of modern European governments, Professors McBain and Rogers, of Columbia University, have arranged the documents in a single volume of 600 pages. It may surprise some readers to learn that some of these constitutions had never before been translated into English, while many of them were difficult of access in any language. The great changes made in some of the governments since the Great War and the founding of new governments, like Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Poland, make a book of this kind doubly necessary for purposes of reference.

The Balance Sheet of Sovietism. By Boris L. Brasol. Duffield & Company. 272 pp.

A calm analysis of the economic and social effects of Bolshevik rule after a five years' trial. General assertions of Soviet bankruptcy are common enough everywhere, but this book gives facts and figures which show beyond question the desperate pass to which Russia has come "under the Soviet heel."

Modern Italy: Its Intellectual, Cultural and Financial Aspects. By Tommaso Tittoni. Macmillan. 236 pp.

Signor Tittoni's important part in the opening session of the Institute of Politics at Williamstown will doubtless be recalled by many of our readers. His addresses before the Institute made a distinct impression in this country. These addresses have now been brought together in a volume treating of the intellectual, cultural and financial aspects of modern Italy. This is perhaps the first attempt of a distinguished Italian publicist to speak directly to the American people concerning his own country. He declares that in the matter of emigration Italy is ready to cooperate heartily with other nations.

Speaking of the Turks. By Mufti-Zade K. Zia Bey. Duffield & Company. 271 pp.

The Turkish people and to a certain extent Turkey itself are described in this volume by the son of the Turkish Ambassador to England, who has lived many years in the United States and is married to an American woman. The book derives its chief interest from the accounts which it gives from the Turkish viewpoint of changes in modern Turkey. There are chapters on "Modern Turkish Women," "Business in Constantinople," and "A Glimpse of Islam."

The Problem of China. By Bertrand Russell. The Century Company. 276 pp.

From residence in China as Professor in the Government University of Peking, Bertrand Russell is entitled to speak with some authority as to modern Chinese ideals and the effects of contact between Chinese and Western civilization. In this book Mr. Russell attempts to show that for the future a greater realization of China's rights is as much to the interest of the outside world as to that of the Chinese themselves. It is a suggestive and stimulating book.

The New Larned History. By J. N. Larned. Springfield: C. A. Nichols Publishing Company. Vol. II: Balkh to Chont. 895 pp. Ill.

In our November number we published a notice of the appearance of the first volume of the "New Larned History." The second volume is now at hand and ten more will follow. Dr. Larned's "History for Ready Reference" was an invaluable compilation, worked out with pains-taking care by a distinguished scholar. This new work is brought up to date and almost doubled in content. An examination of the second volume fully sustains our favorable opinion. Particular articles in this volume, such as the Bill of Rights, Boston, British Empire, Bulgaria, Canada, Chicago, Chile, and China, will bear the closest inspection as illustrating the usefulness of the method employed.

Descriptions of Places and Peoples

London. By George Wharton Edwards. Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Company. 395 pp. Ill.

George Wharton Edwards is recognized as a past master among American illustrators, especially in the art of picturing historic scenes. His "Vanished Halls and Cathedrals of France," "Vanished Towers and Chimes of Flanders," "Belgium, Old and New," and "Holland of To-Day," for all of which he furnished both text and illustrations, are among the most popular descriptions of historic Europe as it appears to-day that have been published in recent years. We are glad to have added to this noteworthy list a most attractive volume dealing with the City of London. From the American viewpoint this is indeed a broad topic. Mr. Edwards has shown admirable judgment in selecting the subjects of his sketches. Nearly all of them make especial appeal to the American whose interest in London is something wider and deeper than the mere casual curiosity of the globe trotter. As in the case of the earlier volumes by Mr. Edwards, the text pages of this book are quite in keeping with the illustrations.

The Book of Washington. By Robert Shackleton. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company. 375 pp. Ill.

New books about the national capital are always in order. Those written more than ten years ago are already out of date, as regards many significant features of the city's growth and development. Mr. Robert Shackleton, after an extended experience in describing such cities as New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago, has at last written a comprehensive "Book of Washington"—not a guide or handbook merely, but an intelligent summary and review of the past and present attractions of the city. The illustrations consist of line drawings by Henry Pitz and full-page half-tone reproductions of photographs.

The White Heart of Mojave. By Edna Brush Perkins. Boni and Liveright. 229 pp. Ill.

In revulsion from the old error of placarding on the maps most of the Southwestern United States as "The Great American Desert," we have perhaps gone to the extreme of underrating the extent of the Mojave Desert that actually exists and forms a large portion of southern California, east of the Sierra Nevada and the San Bernardino Mountains. To those who would like to learn just what the conditions are in that vast waste we commend this book, "The White Heart of Mojave," which relates the experiences of two courageous women who themselves penetrated and explored that out-of-the-way region. The far-famed Death Valley was on the itinerary of Miss Perkins and her friend, and this, with its borax mines, is almost the only part of the region that has communication with the outer world.

Inca Land. By Hiram Bingham. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 365 pp. Ill.

As director of the Peruvian expeditions of Yale University and the National Geographic Society

in 1911, 1912 and 1915, Professor Bingham explored the highlands of Peru and discovered on one of the peaks of the Andes the remarkable Inca city of Machu Picchu. The present volume describes in detail that and other notable discoveries in the Peruvian Andes. That was archaeological work of the utmost importance. The illustrations are from photographs.

Chile: To-Day and To-Morrow. By L. E. Elliott. Macmillan. 340 pp. Ill.

This book is packed with information about Chile's resources, industries, agriculture and finance. It is written on essentially the same plan as the author's "Brazil: To-Day and To-Morrow."

Atolls of the Sun. By Frederick O'Brien. The Century Company. 508 pp. Ill.

In America there seems to be an insatiable demand for South Sea Island experiences and folklore. Mr. O'Brien's "White Shadows in the South Seas" had the effect of whetting the American appetite for more of the same kind of material. In this new volume, after returning from his third visit to the islands, he tells of further adventures and imparts to his readers some of the kindly humor and philosophy that he acquired from his intercourse with the natives.

The Northward Course of Empire. By Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Harcourt, Brace & Company. 273 pp. Ill.

Hunters of the Great North. By Vilhjalmur Stefansson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 301 pp. Ill.

During the past three or four years Mr. Stefansson has produced a creditable list of books about the Arctic. In some respects his service in publishing the results of his Northern studies has differed from that of earlier explorers. He has challenged our preconceptions about the Arctic. It was news to most of us that those great northern regions are no colder than many countries now inhabited by agricultural peoples; that there are more than 700 species of flowering plants north of the Arctic Circle; that a way may be found there for relieving the meat shortage. These statements are expounded and amplified in "The Northward Course of Empire." "Hunters of the Great North" gives details of Northern life such as have doubtless come within the experience of all Arctic explorers, but which are new to the average American reader. In short, it is an elementary text-book of the Arctic.

Nights and Days on the Gypsy Trail. By Irving Brown. Harper & Brothers. 267 pp. Ill.

This chronicle by one who has lived much with the gypsies has mainly to do with those members of the race who were encountered in Spain, which, after all, is really, as Professor Woodbury remarks, an introduction to the book, the gypsies' own country.

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